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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS
OF
STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I.

VOL. III.

I.—THE "GESTA STEPHANI REGIS ANGLORUM."
II.—THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD, PRIOR OF HEXHAM.
III.—THE "RELATIO DE STANDARDO" OF ST. AELRED, ABBOT OF RIEVAULX.
IV.—THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF JORDAN FANTOSME.
V.—THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

EDITED BY
RICHARD HOWLETT,
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE somewhat miscellaneous collection of short historical treatises published in the present volume[1] does much towards completing the list of chronicles of the twelfth century already included in the Rolls Series.

Considered by themselves it was obvious that these treatises must either be neglected or issued as a collection, for they are not, so far as is known, continuations of any great chronicles, nor are they, when isolated, of sufficient bulk to form volumes of reasonable size. The idea of printing them, and the *Draco Normannicus*, in company with the chronicle of William of Newburgh therefore commended itself as a middle course; for the latter work is specially fitted to act as a connecting narrative, and as a running commentary on the whole. It moreover bears traces of special relationship to at least one member of the group, the poem of Jordan Fantosme.[2]

The later years of Henry II. and the reign of Richard I. are well illustrated in our annals; but the same cannot be said for the epoch of Stephen; and prominence will therefore be given in the present preface to affairs connected with the days of that unhappy monarch.

It is proposed to discuss first the probable authorship of the *Gesta Stephani* and their credibility; then to mark their contributions to our knowledge; next to consider the chronological difficulties they present; afterwards to discuss certain aspects of the time of which the author treats; and in the last place to mention such facts as we can ascertain as to the manuscript source of the work.

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[1] The *Gesta Stephani Regis;* the Chronicle of Richard of Hexham; the brief treatise by St. Aelred of Rievaulx, entitled *Relatio de Standardo;* the Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme; and the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes.

[2] See Preface to vol. i., p. xxvi.

The remaining disposable space in this preface will be devoted to notes connected with the MSS., authors, and special features of the minor chronicles which fill up the rest of the volume.

Authorship of the *Gesta Stephani.*

The author of the *Gesta* is unknown, and many speculations have been offered as to his position and circumstances. He was probably not an Englishman, although his way of writing *Avrentia,*[1] instead of *Abrincæ* for Avranches, would seem to mark him as one; but his foreign origin shows itself clearly in several places, as, for instance, in the words "*veniens-*"*que ad viculum, qui lingua Anglorum dicitur*" *Ferenduna.*"[2]

Would an Englishman or an Anglo-Norman take the trouble to say that an obscure place in England, which had no special Latin or French name, was called *Ferenduna* in the English tongue?

The circumstance already mentioned as to Avranches militates against the idea that he was a Norman. What then more natural than to suppose that he came from a third royal possession, the Boulonnais,[3] and was by birth, as well as by inclination, an ally to the brothers Stephen and Henry of Blois? Let us see if the theory of his being a chaplain to the latter could be sustained.

It seems certain that he was an ecclesiastic; but it is improbable that he was in personal attendance on

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[1] *Aurentia,* as Duchesne has it.

[2] p. 115.

[3] Like one of Stephen's chaplains, Ricardus de Bolonia (Cott. Galba, E. ii. *fo.* 31).

Stephen as chaplain, for he fails to record many of the king's greatest deeds, and omits all notice of his illness in 1142. He exhibits, with one exception, no special acquaintance with the northern and eastern counties of England; but on the other hand shows minute knowledge of Oxford, Bristol, Bath, Exeter, and Winchester.

The work considered as a whole contains too great a mass of topographical information to be the product of a monastic pen. A monk who writes largely of general events invariably writes with special distinctness about things happening within a short radius of his fixed dwelling, often betraying it by allusions to trifling events which assume for him an undue importance. Not so the author of the *Gesta*. His description of the Roman structures at Bath,[1] his verbal sketch of the tower of Bampton church,[2] and similar graphic passages, might mislead us if we did not see that he also knows Exeter, Winchester, and the Isle of Ely.[3] We feel that he must have been a dependent of some great personage whose public duty led him to these places. Have we not such a person in the king's brother Henry of Blois, who was at the same time abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester? We cannot sketch an itinerary for the great prelate; but we know that Exeter, when captured, was left in his military charge, and that he attended his brother Stephen in force on many occasions, notably at Wilton, where he was nearly taken prisoner. We do not positively know that he joined the expedition to Ely, but it is quite possible that he did.

The author was probably chaplain to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.

Our author certainly writes like one who stood beside the prelate, explaining on the one hand the story that he persuaded his brother to let the empress reach Bristol, on the other telling us the bishop's stern advice to Stephen, to grant no terms to the Exeter rebels, for their skin was loose and their lips dry, and they must consequently be soon driven by thirst to unconditional surrender.

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[1] This should be compared with Mr. Morgan's paper in the Arch. Assoc. Journ., vol. xli., p. 398.

[2] p. 90.

[3] John of Worcester, a well informed chronicler, has two blundering lines only as to the expedition to the Isle of Ely.

Our chronicler can tell us, too, with obviously personal knowledge, how the same prelate was flouted by the empress when she was mistress of London, and thought herself queen of England. Then again we have from him an account of the siege of Winchester, which must have been written by an eye-witness; and we know that bishop Henry of Blois was present on that occasion. Finally the prelate's quarrel with William de Pont-de-l'Arche, and his dealings with Robert Fitz-Hildebrand are known to us through no other writer.

Of course we must expect to find a man, who according to our theory is a confidential agent, ignorant of specific matters happening at a distance from the place of his special mission; but when we find him writing nothing about the council held in April 1140, at Winchester, and little as to the one assembled in December of the same year at Westminster, the silence is eminently suspicious. At both of these councils Henry of Winchester presented an exceedingly sorry figure, withstood to the face and openly charged with shameful dealing by an envoy of the queen in the first assembly; in the second, similarly and deservedly insulted by a supporter of the empress. We can well understand that our author, if he were Henry's chaplain, could not venture to write down such excuses and falsehoods as the prelate was driven to employ, and we are conscious that we lose by the suppression of inconvenient facts, not through our chronicler's want of knowledge. It would be troublesome to note every minute point, but, allowing for the deliberate omission of certain matters, we may say that our knowledge of the character of Henry of Blois depends more on the *Gesta*, than on William of Malmesbury.

It is even a favourable point in the present argument that our truth-loving chronicler indites a few words of censure upon the worldliness of his master. Such happily is the independence of early ecclesiastical writers that a circumstance of this kind has many parallels.[1]

If the author of the *Gesta Stephani* were, as we have supposed, a chaplain to the bishop of Winchester his intimate knowledge of events would no longer appear marvellous. Chaplains, then as now, were ecclesiastical aides-de-camp, and, with such warlike masters as Henry of Blois and other mediæval bishops, must often have had military experiences as well as clerical. No messenger in troublous times could be so safe as a churchman; and our author, if in such a position, must no doubt have frequently ridden with despatches from the prelate to his brother the king. He would thus know the military events of his time in a way impossible to a monk,[2] and he would have precisely such experiences of the rough soldiery of the day as he describes for us on p. 100. Indeed we may suspect that it was the author's own serving men who were beaten before his eyes, when he went on some occasion to complain of an injury to church property.

Perhaps the incident occurred on one of the many journeys he must have taken to Glastonbury, for his supposed master was, as we have said, abbot of that most ancient and most sacred house,—a burden of rule which would necessitate constant ridings to and fro of messengers from Winchester. Glastonbury, unapproachably safe in its pre-eminent sanctity, seems to have been untouched by war; and its monks, close to the scene of the thickest strife, must have been singularly well able to inform their abbot's chaplain as to all that happened around them.

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[1] We may instance the free speech of William of Newburgh as to the conduct of the bishops with regard to criminous clerks; Etienne de Rouen's strictures on Becket; and Jocelin de Brakelond's amusing commentaries on his superiors.

[2] If our author were chaplain to Henry of Winchester, his name probably is in the long list of the bishop's clerks attesting a charter in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1655), i., p. 703.

Finally our theory would offer a probable explanation of the circumstance that the manuscript of the *Gesta Stephani* was found in northern France; and of the further, and perhaps consequent, fact that no later chronicler has borrowed a single word from it.

The explanation may well be derivable from the circumstance that, in 1148,[1] Henry of Winchester found it desirable to proceed to Rome, to answer before the pope the charges made against him by various enemies. It is beyond a doubt that a princely bishop like Henry took some of his chaplains with him on this occasion to act as secretaries and private agents, and, if the author of the *Gesta Stephani* were one of them, his death, or even a mere accidental loss of baggage, may have caused his book to appear as a derelict in France.

This theory would furnish a narrow limit to the loss we have sustained by the mutilation of the MS. Certainly it is supported by the circumstance that there are no allusions which indicate such a knowledge of later years as constantly appears in other chronicles, and indeed in the *Gesta* themselves, when dealing with earlier events.

We may cite, for example, the reference, under the year 1136,[2] to the ultimate fate of Milo of Gloucester, who did not die until December 1143,—an allusion which also tends to show that the work was not undertaken very early in Stephen's reign.

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[1] John of Hexham, Rolls ed., p. 322. He may of course, if he lived so long, have gone with the bishop in 1151 or in 1155; but, had he done so in 1155, some hint of the ultimate solution of the great problem of the day would surely have appeared in the book.

[2] p. 16.

Reliability of the narrative of the *Gesta.*

Whoever may have written the treatise, it is obvious that he was as much a partisan of Stephen as Malmesbury was of Maud; but if we compare the writings of these men, who approached events with opposite feelings, we are astonished at the candour and fairness they have obviously manifested. Not less marvellous is their accuracy. They produce on the reader's mind the same sense of certitude as is felt when tallies are compared, or the dispersed fragments of an ancient urn are fitted together.

Strict agreement between Malmesbury and the *Gesta.*

Just as a mathematician who has found that a similar law governs two series, infers their correspondence in the higher terms, even so may we confide in the parallel records of these two singularly honest men, and when the *series temporum* of the one is broken seemingly by death, we may justly say that, as the survivor has been found to act according to the same law of careful veracity as his compeer, we will trust him to the end with as much confidence as we should have felt if his brother writer had lived to confirm his assertions.

Corroborations from Foliot's letters.

We need not, however, rely on mere theory. We may try the later portions of the *Gesta Stephani* by the test of undesigned coincidences with the private correspondence of Gilbert Foliot, a man of learning and eminence, who did not seek to tell any connected story; but who wrote to bishops, nobles, and popes on matters of urgent business.

These letters can be more confidently classed according to date than many similar series, for the author became a bishop in 1148. Almost all his writings therefore in which he appears as abbot of Gloucester belong to the period of the *Gesta Stephani.*

If we read the third letter in Dr. Giles' edition we shall see our abbot appealing to the legate, Henry of Winchester, on behalf of earl Milo, who, having been excommunicated by the bishop of Hereford, had vainly offered satisfaction to the angry prelate. If we now read the account of the affair in the *Gesta*, p. 102, we shall feel absolute confidence in both writers.

Proceeding to a less distinct coincidence, let us take Foliot's letter No. XL., which, being addressed to pope Eugenius, must have been written at some date after February, 1145. In it the writer pleads for the monks of Malmesbury, whose precincts have been occupied by a new fortification, and whose sacred retreat is infested by soldiers.

Taking up the *Gesta* at p. 114 we see that, in 1145, Stephen hastened to Malmesbury, threw a body of men into the castle, and stored it with provisions. The new fortress is not mentioned, but few will doubt that the same transaction is referred to by both writers, when we find William of Malmesbury, at a much earlier date, complaining of a castle having been *begun* by the bishop of Salisbury within the conventual enclosure.

In the last place let us select the account of the acts of John le Marshal, otherwise John FitzGilbert,[1] castellan of Marlborough, as given by Foliot in letter No. XIV., and compare it with a passage on p. 107 of the *Gesta*. In doing so we shall see that the apologist of Stephen is corroborated by Foliot, the partisan of Maud.

Authenticity of the work.

These coincidences will also abundantly attest that which, in truth, no one seems ever to have questioned—the genuineness of the work.

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[1] The identity of this noble, the father of the great William Marshal, with the John FitzGilbert of the *Gesta*, is clear from Malmesbury, p. 734, when compared with the *Gesta*, pp. 66, 67, 80, and 107, and with the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 117, 125–127, and 135. See note 3 on p. 67.

The statement by which Duchesne introduces the treatise,[1] mentioning the library from which the MS. came, and the friend through whom he obtained it, is brief but clear, and his honesty is notorious. Still as the MS. is not now forthcoming, and as C. J. Bertram's forgery of the "*De situ Britanniæ*" is a fact to be remembered, it is necessary to refer formally to the matter.

Portions of Stephen's reign as to which the *Gesta* afford special or exclusive information.

We will now consider the special contributions of the *Gesta* to our knowledge of English history.

We must remember that up to varying dates, as far as the end of 1142, we have the efficient aid of Ordericus Vitalis, of John of Worcester, the excellent continuator of Florence, and above all of William of Malmesbury.

It is not to be expected that such writers would have left any facts of transcendent importance to be stated for the first time by a fourth chronicler; but we may instance as original contributions by our author the interesting account of the days preceding Stephen's coronation, including the debates among the nobles on his election; the prompt dispersion of lawless bands; Stephen's royal progress; facts as to the important quarrel with Robert of Bathampton; interesting details as to the siege of Exeter, including a statement as to its cost in money; and finally, information as to the intervention of the barons on behalf of Baldwin de Redvers. In this last-mentioned matter our author affords a good explanation of an act usually passed over as merely one more manifestation of Stephen's weakness.

After this point—the end of 1142—and as far as the end of 1147, the *Gesta Stephani* constitute the main stem of the history of England. Huntingdon devotes the equivalent of about four octavo pages to this period. Gervase, when he does not copy Huntingdon, gives us few but ecclesiastical events, and those few in wrong order. Newburgh and Hoveden copy Huntingdon, and add but few secular facts; the English Chronicle is but a shadow of its former self; and John of Hexham, like the others, is almost exclusively ecclesiastical.

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[1] See p. liii.

In short, for those six years we must regard the remaining chronicles as the means of adding dates and stray facts to the valuable narrative of the *Gesta*.

We will, however, select a few points on which the *Gesta Stephani* cast an entirely new light. The explanation of Stephen's conduct towards the earl of Chester is clear, satisfactory, and nowhere else to be found. The desertions of Turgis of Avranches from Stephen, and of Philip, son of the earl of Gloucester, from Maud are nowhere else mentioned, though the latter fact reveals serious dissensions in the Angevin party—dissensions with which we may possibly connect Ralph of Chester's change of sides. These differences apparently led to the negotiations for peace conducted by Reginald earl of Cornwall, whose diplomacy brought about a meeting of king and empress in 1146. This conference was unfortunately unavailing, and has perhaps on this account been neglected by all the chroniclers except the careful author of the *Gesta*. Finally, the efforts of Henry, in 1147, to rival the early deeds of his great ancestors are not only unrecorded by any other chronicler,[1] but have hitherto been confused by many English historians with the events of 1149, when he went north to be knighted by David king of Scotland. This matter has been dealt with at some length in a note on p. 130; but considerations which lead to a conclusion adverse to historians in general require to be made more clear than would be possible in a foot-note.

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[1] The passage in John of Hexham (Rolls ed., pp. 324, 5), under the year 1150, which seems at first sight possibly to relate to it, will be found on examination and comparison with Gervase, i. 151, 2, to be a mixture of the events of 1146 with those of 1153. There seems to be no certain explanation of this blundering interpolation; but as the facts do not appear in their proper places, the notes of them would seem to have been carelessly misplaced, and to have been ignorantly miscopied in the Hexham scriptorium.

Chronological difficulties :

Certainly the chronology of this period is very difficult, and we feel on safe ground at but one or two points. Let us, however, first summarise the story as given in the *Gesta.*

(1.) Henry's invasion of England in 1147.

The series of events having led up to the earl of Chester's attack on Lincoln in the early days of the year 1147, some minor actions of Stephen's are mentioned, ending with an account of the blockade of Pevensey castle] Then our history states that while those events were in progress, Henry, whom the chronicler boldly terms "*justus regni . . hæres,*" came across to England "*cum florida militum caterva,*" and wild rumours spread as to the men and money he had brought.

Soon the truth became known, that his following was small, and was paid only in promises. The boy commander was repulsed from Cricklade, and routed from Bourton. Outwitted at all points by Stephen, disappointed of help from the barons, and threatened with desertion by his mercenaries, the lad fell ill, apparently through sheer chagrin. He applied to his mother and to his uncle, earl Robert of Gloucester, for money to pay his men, but not receiving any, he turned in desperation to his chivalrous enemy.

It was thoroughly in keeping with the knightly character of Stephen to send to a beaten opponent, who was at once his cousin and a mere child, the means of getting out of an ugly position. The king's nobles advised a contrary course ; but kindness of heart prevailed, and the silence of history shows reasonably well that his noble act wrought him no immediate harm.

We must begin our examination of this story with the evidence of Gervase,[1] who alleges that in 1146 (meaning 1147, as is obvious by the immediate mention of the death of the earl of Gloucester) Geoffrey of Anjou sent to fetch Henry away from England. Certainly Gervase writes as if Henry had already been four years in this country; but he errs sadly at this part of his chronicle.

A further piece of evidence is the charter to Saint Ouen given, apparently in Normandy, by Henry, "*ducis* "*Normannorum* . . . *filius*,"[2] at some date between March 5 and April 20, 1147, and finally we are assured by Robert of Torigni[3] that Henry returned from England to Normandy and was received at Bec on May 29, 1147.

Now there are certain points in the story itself which tend to fix the date. It is quite certain that Henry's application to earl Robert of Gloucester was made before the 31st of October, 1147, for we have overwhelming testimony that on that day the earl died.[4]

We should thus be able to place the invasion definitely before November 1147, and probably between the beginning of March and the end of May in that year; but there is an apparent difficulty raised by the assertion of Gervase that the empress left England before March 5, 1147. Had she done so Henry could not have consulted her in urgent circumstances, as the *Gesta* tell us he did; but against Gervase, whose dates at this point are by his own admission almost worthless, we must place the fact that the narrative of the *Gesta*, which covers the whole of 1147, contains no reference to her departure, and indeed, as we have seen, alludes to her presence; and we should especially remark the probability that she quitted England in discouragement after the death of her great champion, rather than that she left him to fight for a cause she had herself deserted. Assuredly she must have left early in 1148, and our first trace of her in Normandy, naturally enough, is in the month of June of that year.[1]

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[1] i. 131.

[2] *Neustria Pia*, p. 15.

[3] i., p. 243.

[4] See p. 134, note 2.

These facts would alone suffice to prevent this expedition from being confused with the visit in 1149; but let us examine the details known about the latter. From Gervase, Huntingdon, and John of Hexham we learn that Henry came over in the middle of May 1149, a date which receives at once confirmation and correction from his charter to Salisbury cathedral, given at Devizes on April 13, 1149.[2] At this time, as Gervase expressly says, Robert of Gloucester was dead, and the empress had quitted England, and Henry, joining himself to Ralph of Chester and Roger of Hereford, marched north towards Scotland. At Carlisle, on May 22, 1149, he was knighted; the date being absolutely fixed by the concurrent testimony of Huntingdon, John of Hexham, and the Chronicle of Melrose.

After this ceremony an invasion of England was planned; but it came to nothing, and there is no trace of any fighting on this occasion. Clearly we have two separate visits, one about April 1147—a boy's failure; the other in April 1149—a sober commencement of a definite though abortive scheme of invasion. If we are to say that these two alleged visits are really but one, we must suppose that the author of the *Gesta Stephani* has presented us with two pages of circumstantial fable, and we must also set aside the clear testimony of Robert of Torigni; but mediæval history would simply disappear if the evidence of chroniclers were to be treated in this way.

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[1] The empress was certainly at Falaise in June 1148 (Salisb. charters, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., xl. 145, 146), so we have a fixed limit of error, one which at any rate helps to show that this visit of Henry's is not to be confounded with the one in 1149.

[2] See charter preserved at Salisbury. A translation is printed in the Journal of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc., xl., p. 146. Another of Henry's early charters, given at Devizes to Quarr abbey, and, as the list of witnesses shows, almost certainly at this date, is printed by Dugdale, *Monast.*, i., p. 760 (ed. 1655).

Chronological difficulties: (2.) The date of the knighting of Eustace.

Our conclusions as to this expedition will be confirmed by an examination of the curious chronological difficulty which arises on the assertion of the *Gesta*[1] that almost at the same time as Henry's invasion,—the one in 1147 of which we have just spoken,—Stephen knighted his son Eustace and made him *consul*. Now both Huntingdon and John of Hexham[2] say that the rivals, Henry and Eustace, were knighted in the same year, that year being 1149, while on the other hand the writer of the *Gesta* places the knighthood of Eustace just before the death of Robert of Gloucester, that is before October 31, 1147.

Thus far the matter stands as a dispute between the chroniclers; but there is other testimony which seems decisive against Huntingdon and John of Hexham, though we have to introduce the evidence of the *Gesta Stephani* so far as regards the fact that Eustace was *knighted* and made *consul* at one time. This however, is but a matter of course, for he could hardly have been made count of Boulogne before knighthood in an age in which even a bishop who became an earl was also made a knight, though what Eustace received was evidently a lordship not an earldom.[1]

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[1] p. 132.

[2] It is observable that while the chronicle of Melrose confirms these writers as to the date (1149) of Henry's knighthood, it says nothing as to Eustace.

If we now examine the charter of queen Matilda to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, London,[2] we see that one witness was "*comes Eustachius filius regis*"; another, bishop Hilary of Chichester, who was consecrated in August 1147; a third, Robert bishop of Hereford, who died in September 1148. These limiting dates for the grant of the lordship to Eustace are fixed by the charters giving land for the building of Faversham abbey, in or before 1148, for in these he again appears as *comes*. In earlier charters he is merely "*Eustachius* "*filius meus.*" We are thus sure that he became a *count* before September 1148, and we may confidently add that he also became a knight before the same date —no doubt in 1147, as the *Gesta* tell us.

We must therefore, it would seem, give the case in favour of the author of the *Gesta*, and admit that he once more demonstrates his superiority over his fellow writers.

Chronological difficulties: (3.) The date of the landing of the em-

There is a third, and an exceedingly complex, chronological difficulty respecting the date of the landing of the empress and Robert of Gloucester, for William of Malmesbury[3] asserts that they landed at Arundel on Sept. 30, press Maud and the earl of Gloucester.

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[1] Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, became earl of Northumberland in 1189 or 1190, and of him Richard of Devizes (see p. 389) says, "et solo sibi gladio, quo "manu regis in militem fuerat "accinctus, vix relicto . . . ." There is probably nothing which can be adduced to show positively that knighthood *must* precede the grant either of the office or of the dignity; but girding with the sword of a county seems to imply a previous or concurrent knighthood in the case of an earl. The point, is strongly set before us by Gervase, who says that on June 14, 1170, when the younger Henry was to be crowned, his father "*ipsa* "*die Henricum . . . militem fecit,* "statimque eum . . . in regem "ungui præcepit et coronari." Haste is implied in this passage; but the ceremony of knighthood was carefully observed before the coronation.

[2] *Monast.* (ed. 1673), ii., p. 81.

[3] p. 724.

1139, and the task of impugning the testimony of such a writer is not a little serious.[1] There was a council held, he says, from August 29 to September 1, and on September 30 the invasion was effected.

More or less in support of this we have (i.) a vague date, "*in autumno*," from Ordericus Vitalis;[2] (ii.) another vague date, "*circa mensem Septembrem*," for the *council* from John of Hexham; and (iii.) a date *in August*, also for the council, from the Waverley Annals.[3]

Against these we must set the important evidence of John of Worcester, the continuator of Florence; for the true text of his chronicle[4] informs us, in one place, that the empress and her brother landed at Portsmouth "*mense . . Julio*," in another, that they came before August 1.

Against both Malmesbury and John of Worcester we must next cite Robert of Torigni,[5] who at this point has interesting original information. He says that the empress crossed "*mense Augusto*," and, as we shall see, he is very likely right.

Now we should remark *in limine* that the *Gesta*, and all the chronicles which allude to both events, agree to place the landing *after* the council.

Let us then proceed to see what light the series of events will cast on the controversy.

We know from Malmesbury[6] and John of Worcester that the bishops were seized at Oxford just after June 24. Then the king marched to Devizes and Sherborne, and thence towards Lincolnshire to seize Newark and Sleaford. After all this—"*nec longe post*" Huntingdon says—the council was held.

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[1] His testimony, however, as to another pair of dates (see p. 73, note 3) is refuted by the evidence of the charter given by Adam de Domerham, ed. Hearne, p. 329.

[2] v. 121.

[3] p. 227.

[4] As supplied by Gervase and by Cott. MS. Calig. A. VI.

[5] i., p. 215.

[6] p. 107.

Now, as there were no sieges in these cases, and as Stephen was marvellously rapid in his marches, these operations can scarcely have occupied the whole of July.

Some reason is thus afforded us for thinking that the council, called in consequence of the events of June 24, took place at the end of July and the beginning of August.

After referring to the council, the *Gesta Stephani* narrate the king's expedition to Dunster against William de Mohun; and to Wareham and Corfe against the invasion of Baldwin de Redvers. From the siege of Corfe Castle it appears that the king passed on to an attack on Marlborough, and during this he heard of the arrival of the empress. A month seems indeed a short time for all these operations.

These considerations still leave us in a difficulty; but there is possibly light in one direction.

Baldwin de Redvers, an active ally of the empress, had landed at Wareham with a large force;[1] but the precise place of the landing, and the fact that Baldwin led the force, are matters apparently known to no chronicler save the author of the *Gesta*. Now Baldwin's was in very truth the main army of invasion, and knowing its strength, John of Worcester perhaps assumed that it was led by Robert of Gloucester and that the empress came with it, for he believed that she came "*cum grandi exercitu*" to Portsmouth, whereas she certainly came with only a small retinue and to Arundel.

With this interpretation we can arrive at a reasonable conjecture.

We should have the seizure of the bishops about June 24; the march to Devizes and Lincolnshire during

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[1] *Gest. Steph.*, p. 53.

July; the council during the last days of July, and on the first day of August; the arrival of the bulk of Maud's expedition, led by Baldwin de Redvers, about August 1; the king's attacks on Dunster, Corfe, and Marlborough occupying August; and finally the actual coming of the empress herself on August 30. This would amount to no greater violence than shifting Malmesbury's two dates exactly one month back; but it would bring time into agreement with the march of events; would explain John of Worcester's precise assertions; and, above all, would accord with the date, August, which Robert of Torigni gives for Maud's arrival.

Finally this date, being late in August, would agree reasonably well with Ordericus Vitalis, who says that Maud came "*in autumno.*" We should also have the council ending on August 1, in literal accord with the Waverley annals, and we should only be required to set aside one annalist, John of Hexham, who knew little of southern events.

As to the place of disembarkation it is, on geographical grounds alone, no strained conjecture to say, that, after landing his sister at Arundel,[1] earl Robert went on by sea to Portsmouth[2]—which no doubt means Fareham, at the head of the harbour—and thence took his daring ride to Wallingford. Malmesbury and Robert of Torigni[3] agree that he had but a handful of men—twenty, or even twelve as the former has it,—while John of Worcester, as we have noted, believed that he came "*cum grandi exercitu.*"

This discrepancy would, as we have said, be explained by our theory that the expedition came in two sections, for the *Gesta Stephani* say that Baldwin de Redvers arrived "*forti militum caterva,*" as no doubt he did, for it was only his presence in force that could render the coming of Maud and her brother with twenty or thirty retainers anything else than an act of madness.

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[1] Malmesbury and the *Gesta* agree as to the place of her landing.

[2] This place is given by John of Worcester, the continuator, for the landing of the empress *and* her brother.

[3] i., 216.

Baldwin had in fact drawn the royal forces westward, and had left the eastern half of the south coast open. No doubt, too, by spreading a false report that the empress was with him, he caused the watch set on the ports to be relaxed. This, however, is but conjecture, though it would account for John of Worcester's mistake.

The witness of charters as to the condition of England under Stephen.

It is now our prescribed duty to furnish a brief commentary on the times of which our author treats, and we will attempt to fulfil the task mainly by the help of evidence outside the pages of the chroniclers, appealing to cartularies rather than to historians, and citing the irrefragable testimony of original documents still extant.

Instances of information derivable from such sources:

It will indeed be a good illustration of the way in which charters throw light upon this dark period if, before we enter upon the discussion of our main subject —the question of the true condition of England—we make a slight digression as to two small matters which are possibly new to history.

(1.) A siege not noticed by chroniclers.

In the original edition of the *Monasticon* (1655),[1] there is a charter granted by Stephen "*apud Mapertes-halam in obsidione.*" The chronicles mention no such event as a siege at Meppershall; but there exists at the present day, close to the church of this small Bedfordshire village, a high mound with a double line of outer ramparts answering in the clearest way to the type of the hastily-built, stockaded "castles" of this reign.[2] Stephen, it thus appears, had to capture this outpost, perhaps during the siege of Bedford in 1138.

(2.) A question

A second, and very puzzling, matter is that in the raised as to the completeness of existing lists of the bishops of Chichester.

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[1] Vol. i., p. 480, col. 2.

[2] From information communicated by the Rev. J. H. Howlett.

cartulary of St. Benet-at-Hulme,[1] the great Norfolk monastery, there is one of the king's charters to his nephew, abbot Hugh, witnessed by *J. epo. Cicestr.*, while the name of another witness shows that the document must be dated after September 1147.

We also find in the Chertsey cartulary[2] a charter addressed to the same nephew, who, after 1149, had become abbot of that house. This too is witnessed by *J. Cicestr. epo.* Now we are told[3] that bishop Seffrid was deposed in 1145, and that Hilary took the see after consecration in August 1147. Is it possible that we have here a trace of an unknown bishop of Chichester, living in enforced retirement under the friendly care of abbot Hugh, just as St. William of York was doing at that very date in the palace of Henry of Winchester?[4]

Fragmentary nature of the evidence derivable from charters.

Returning, however, to our main theme we would remark that existing records give us but faint and casual glimpses of the minor life of the time, and in the ensuing attempt to gather facts which throw light on the reign we shall be compelled to draw our deductions from the very dust and débris of events.

We must employ dateless charters, roughly chronologising them by the witnesses' names. We must take a word here, a fact there, and a legal phrase from any trustworthy source, often, perhaps, causing the reader to inquire why so deep a significance is imputed either to phrases which seem like chance expressions, or to the mere titles of functionaries.

Charters here employed to regulate, not to form, ideas as to the reign of Stephen.

But our task is like that of the geologist, and just as a few broken fossils enable him to settle the true sequence of strata, so our scattered and imperfect charters, trustworthy samples of the acts and facts of the time, will enable us, not to form, but to regulate our ideas of the social condition of England under Stephen.[1]

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[1] Cott. Galba E. ii. *fo.* 33 *b.*

[2] Cott. Vitell. A. xiii. *fo.* 57 *b.*

[3] Diocesan Hist. of Chichester, by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, pp. 48–52.

[4] William of Newburgh, i., 56, 79.

Traces of the existence of a continuous fiscal administration derivable from charters and chronicles.

Directing our attention first to fiscal matters, we find that, writing under 1139, the author of the *Gesta Stephani* calls Roger le Poer by a technical title, "*summus antigraphus*," an expression which implies that which can be otherwise surmised, viz., that the exchequer machinery had not stopped in Stephen's fourth year. Of course Roger's chancellorship ceased in 1139, after the rude threat to hang him before Devizes castle, and Philip d'Harcourt, soon afterwards bishop of Bayeux, took his place.[2] He did not hold it long, for the cartulary of Ramsey[3] shows us "*R. cancellarius*" in 1140–1, and a charter of 1143, preserved by Thomas of Elmham,[4] is also witnessed by *R. cancellarius.*

Stephen's chancellors: (i.) Roger le Poer, (ii.) Philip d'Harcourt, (iii.) Robert de Gaunt.

This is, of course, the *Robertus de Gaunt, cancellarius*,[5] who witnessed Stephen's charter to Lilleshull abbey,[6] and his precipe in favour of Reading abbey.[7] There is thus significant evidence of the continued existence of one of the great exchequer offices, and there is nothing to show that Robert de Gaunt did not serve until his death in 1153—except of course for a few weeks in 1141.[8]

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[1] Unfortunately very few charters contain anything directly useful to the general historian, though most are valuable for family history. Those quoted in the text are the result of a complete search through the old and the new editions of the Monasticon, the Brit. Mus. charters, and many printed collections, in addition to about 35 MS. cartularies.

[2] A charter of Stephen to St. Frideswide, Oxford, *Mon. Anglic.*, ii., 146, is witnessed by *P. cancellarius.*

[3] i., 108, *Bullæ*, 553.

[4] pp. 34 and 382 (Rolls ed.).

[5] Brother of the earl of Lincoln. See his charter, in 1148, to Rufford abbey.

[6] In or after 1142, as Imarus, the legate, a witness, came in that year, *Anglia Sacra*, i., 343.

[7] Archæolog. Journal, xx., p. 291, No. 10.

[8] A charter of Stephen in Cott. MS. Vitell. A. XIII. professes to be witnessed by *Walter cancellarius*; but it also represents the

Again, though Stephen seems to have needed the superfluous wealth of the bishops in 1139 to procure a good marriage for Eustace, he does not appear at any other point of the narrative to be in serious pecuniary straits.[1] Indeed this is proved in a practical way by the gift of money he kindly made to his boy adversary, Henry, so late as 1147,[2] and numismatists deny the assertion that he was driven by poverty to debase the coinage, for the numerous existing examples of his money, and even the few remaining baronial pennies, are invariably of good metal, though a few of them are light.[3]

Except for a few months he derived throughout his reign an inestimable benefit from the possession of London, a veritable mine of wealth, as the answer of its citizens to Maud [4] abundantly shows. Beside what we may at this date perhaps scarcely term the "Cinque Ports," he held two others, Lynn and Yarmouth, both of much greater wealth and importance than many historical students have suspected; but all this without steadily-working fiscal machinery would not have availed to meet the constant drain of war expenses.[5]

Surely then there must have been, with whatever interruptions and within however varying an area, a tolerable exchequer system. No Pipe Rolls survive, for the one formerly supposed to belong to the 5th year of

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king as calling William I. his *father*.

[1] *Gest. Steph.*, p. 18. His want of money is referred to in one or two places; but he never seems to have been hindered in his operations by lack of supplies. As to one mode of obtaining them see *Hist. Mon. Abingd.*, ii., 292.

[2] *Gest. Steph.*, p. 129.

[3] See note 2 on p. lii.

[4] *Gest. Steph.*, p. 75.

[5] Stephen's wastefulness in grants is curiously referred to in Henry's charter to Stanley (Dugd. *Mon.*, ed. 1655, i., p. 867). He says, "reperi quod tempore regis Stephani, ablatoris mei, multa dispersa fuerant, etiam a dominiis "regni alienata, tum in feodis "militum tum in eleemosinis ecclesiarum, inter quæ abbatia de "Thama membrum quoddam manerii mei de Ferendon . . tenebat "ex dono inimicorum meorum."

Stephen—whether a complete roll or a collection of *disjecta membra* of different rolls—has certainly no relation in any portion to this reign; but the absence of those records is easily comprehensible, and need not disturb our beliefs when we consider what our next charter has to tell us. No doubt as to date or meaning can attach to the document we now cite, for while the charter[1] cannot have been given before November 1141, nor so late as the end of 1143, probabilities place it about the beginning of 1142. It is replete with historical information; but we can only quote its more significant words:—

The exchequer referred to in a charter of 1142 or 1143.

> Stephanus rex etc. . . . Sciatis me reddidisse . . . Gaufredo comiti de Essexa omnia sua tenementa . . . quæ tenuit . . die qua impeditus fui apud Lincolniam et captus. Et præter hoc dedi ei . . . ccc. libratas terræ . . . et . . dedi ei . . custodiam turris Londoniæ cum castello quod ei subest habendum . . sibi et suis heredibus . . et *justicias et vicecomitatus* de Londonia et de Middelsexa in feodum et hereditatem *eadem firma* qua Gaufredus de Mannavilla avus suus eas tenuit *scilicet pro ccc. libris.* Et justicias et vicecomitatus de Essexa et de Heortfordiscira eadem firma qua avus ejus eos tenuit, ita tamen quod dominia, quæ de prædictis comitatibus data sunt ipsi comiti Gaufredo aut alicui alii, a firma præfata subtrahantur et illi et heredibus suis *ad Scaccarium computabuntur.* Et præterea firmiter ei concessi ut possit firmare quoddam castellum ubicunque voluerit in terra sua . . . Et præterea dedi &c. . . et præterea quicquid carta Reginæ testatur.

Here then we have the exchequer referred to in 1142 or 1143 plainly and by name, and associated with all its familiar technicalities, and we see that earl Geoffrey, being, as was sometimes the case, *vicecomes* as well as *comes*, must have appeared at Easter and Michaelmas to answer for the stated "farm" of his three counties. The items of account must, it follows, have been entered on Pipe Rolls. Then, again, we know by the word *justicias* that he was charged with the administration of the law over by far the most important and valuable portion of the whole kingdom.

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[1] Duchy of Lanc. Charter, No. 18, Pub. Rec. Office (see 31st Rept. of Deputy Keeper, Appx. pp. 2, 3).

Presence of officers responsible to the exchequer in Warwickshire in 1146, and in Yorkshire in the year 1150.

We will next cite from the Patent Roll for 21 Ric. II., 2. m. 10, one of Stephen's charters certainly granted before 1148,[1] which Mr. Eyton dates about May 1146. This is addressed to the *vicecomes* of Warwickshire.

Our last instance shall be from the deed of exchange by which the site of Meaux abbey was assured.

This document, which curiously enough begins with the words:—

> " Sciant tam præsentes quam posteri hunc *finem* esse ter-
> " minatum inter Willielmum comitem Albemarliæ et Jo-
> " hannem de Melsa,"

belongs of course to the year 1150,[2] and is witnessed among others by " *Willielmus vicecomes.*"

Thus we see an exchequer functionary in Yorkshire at a definite date; and we see that though William of Albemarle may have been, as Newburgh asserts, more king than earl, he did nevertheless permit the presence of the most important of royal officers in the shire.

The evidence of charters as to the continuity of the exchequer system confirmed by the *Dialogus de Scaccario.*

So far we have the evidence derivable from chroniclers on the one hand, and from charters on the other. Now let us see what Richard bishop of London, the son of Nigel bishop of Ely, tells us respecting his father:—" *Hic . . scaccarii scientiam, continuata per* " *multos annos bellica tempestate pæne prorsus abo-* " *litam, reformavit.*"[3] Our surmise as to the continuity of the exchequer system is confirmed more surely by these grudging words from the deposed chancellor's son than by larger expressions from a neutral pen.

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[1] Eustace is not yet *comes*. The queen is another witness.

[2] Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i. pp. 798, 799.

[3] Bp. Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 199.

Traces of the existence of a fiscal system are good evidence of the existence of a judicial system, and *vice versa.*

It would be too daring to assert positively that there was an administration of justice and a complete fiscal system in operation in Yorkshire and the Eastern Midlands during this reign, as a whole; but it is not by any means improbable. The two systems were at this date so closely connected that the presence of the one would pre-suppose the existence of the other. Any evidence of either is thus good with respect to both, and we shall see a little farther on that in 1147 the king's arm was long enough to reach beyond York.

Great systems are as tenacious of life as nations: we may suspend or interfere with the one, we may harry the other with fire and sword; but as soon as the activity of the disturbing hand diminishes, use revives and damage is repaired. Monasteries suffering injury from neighbours; landowners and townsmen disputing as to rights; and even bishops and abbots, as in the case of Hilary of Chichester and the abbot of Battle, which we shall have to notice later,[1] would desire to invoke the king's courts at the earliest possible moment, and the king would as eagerly urge his sheriffs to return to duty. Indeed his anxiety in this respect was one of the underlying causes of the sudden seizure of Ralph of Chester in 1146, for the *Gesta* say that the earl was suspected "*quia regalium fiscorum redditus* " . . *reddere negligebat.*"[2]

Traces of legal administration and signs of the extension of the authority of the king.

Let us then endeavour to obtain some glimpses of the legal aspect of the epoch, and let us select first the year 1140, of which Henry of Huntingdon can tell us nothing, but which appears from the *Gesta Stephani* to have been chequered with such military events as the expedition against the Isle of Ely, the recovery of Cornwall by the king, Geoffrey Talbot's attack on Hereford, and Robert of Gloucester's raid on Nottingham.

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[1] See p. xxxv.

[2] p. 118.

A *finalis concordia* completed before the king's court in 1140.

The first of our two instances shall be the curious trace of formal legal procedure appearing in Stephen's charter to Reading abbey given at Norwich, no doubt in 1140.[1] The king, referring to an arrangement made with Ralph Purcell, adds, "*sicut inde finivit coram me* "*cum ipsis monachis.*" Here then we see an instance of the ancient *finalis concordia* completed in the king's court at the very height of the war.

Stephen's confirmation, in 1140, of charters respecting a foundation in Warwickshire.

In this same year Ralph, who was "butler" to the earl of Leicester, was persuaded by Simon bishop of Worcester to found a monastic house at Alcester. He alleges in his charter,[2] which bears the date 1140, that he acted by the advice and with the consent of his over-lords, king Stephen, Robert earl of Leicester, and Waleran count of Meulan, and he names archbishop Theobald as favouring his project. Earl Robert of Leicester contributed a confirming charter in his usual semi-regal style, and Stephen concluded the whole under his royal authority in a charter witnessed at Oxford by count Waleran, Robert of Leicester, William of Albemarle earl of Yorkshire, and Simon earl of Northampton —a sufficiently significant list of great barons.

Probably this was the king's visit to Oxford after the expedition to Hereford recorded by John of Worcester.[3] If so, it was about March 1140, at the most exciting of times, almost midway between the coming of Maud and the king's capture by her brother at Lincoln, and yet the position of affairs indicated by these charters is not suggestive of an entirely shattered administrative system.

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[1] Archæol. Journ., xx., 291, No. 9. Richard de Luci, a witness, reached England about the end of 1138; Geoffrey de Mandeville, another witness, rebelled in 1143; Stephen marched into Norfolk against Hugh Bigod in May 1140.

[2] Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., 470.

[3] p. 124.

Stephen grants the earldom of Hereford about 1142.

We have, too, distinct evidence of Stephen's power in the west from a charter quoted by Mr. Duncombe in his History of Hereford (p. 232). The names of two witnesses, Robert de Gaunt *cancellarius*, and William earl of Lincoln, place it certainly between 1140 or 1141 and 1146. Probably it was given about 1142. The words are:—

> Sciatis nos *reddidisse*[1] . . . Roberto comiti Leycestriæ . . . totum comitatum de Herefordscyre.

We need scarcely add that where there was an earl there certainly was a *vicecomes*. No less certainly, too, must there have been *justiciarii* as well.

Disputes between earl Warenne and the monks of Reading to be referred to the king's court (about 1141).

About this time, for Robert de Gaunt witnesses the precipe, Stephen writes severely to earl Warenne as to his conduct towards the Reading monks, telling him that, if he has any claims on them, he may come "*in curiam meam, et tenebo inde tibi plenum rectum.*"[2]

The machinery of the *Curia Regis* in operation beyond York in 1147 and 1148.

It is not a little startling, with the familiar cry of robbery and devastation ringing in our ears, to find that the machinery of the king's court could operate north of York in 1147 and 1148, and yet we find on the best testimony that such was the case.

The document which proves this is the account of the early history of Byland abbey, written by Philip, third abbot of that house.[3] The whole deserves attentive scrutiny, as it is carefully, and apparently correctly, dated.

In the year in which Roger Mowbray gave the monks some land in Coxwold—this appears elsewhere[4] to be 1147—he was impleaded respecting the castle of Bayeux by a baron of France. This castle had been recently

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[1] For the earlier grant to him see Duch. Lanc. Chart. No. 4 (31st Rep. of Deputy Keeper of Records). The second grant no doubt marks the recovery of the county by the king.

[2] Arch. Journ., xx., p. 291, No. 10. The earl died in 1148.

[3] Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., pp. 1027–1034. It was written in 1197.

[4] p. 1030, col. 2, l. 38.

given to him by Stephen on his knighthood. Mowbray at once crossed with letters from Stephen, "*qui scripsit*
"*se velle dictum castellum . . eidem Rogero contra*
"*omnes homines warantizare. Verumtamen per illud*
"*placitum nichil amisit.*"

Passing by this curious evidence of Stephen's power at this date across the sea, we find that, in Mowbray's absence, two barons "*moverunt placitum in curia . . .*
"*regis contra dominum R. Molbray, et fuit prose-*
"*cutum secundum legem terræ per longum tempus.*"

The abbot hereupon crossed to Normandy, *anno m.c. xlvij.*, and saw Mowbray, who, being then unable to return, wrote "*specialiter amicis suis, scilicet comiti*
"*Marescallo*[1] *et comiti de Warenna, quod ipsi sup-*
"*plicarent domino regi . . quod illud placitum, quod*
"*Robertus et Willielmus de Stutevilla moverant contra*
"*eum in curia regis, remaneret in illo statu, quo*
"*tunc fuit, usque ad reditum suum in Angliam.*"

The earls did as they were asked, and Stephen granted their request, swearing that Mowbray should not lose a foot of land in England "*per placitum in curia sua,*
"*dum extra regnum fuisset.*" Mowbray returned in 1148 and compromised the matter.

A document of this kind, teeming with natural references to legal pleas and to the *Curia Regis*, and written in the tone of one who took it for a matter of course that the machinery of justice would accomplish its ends, is a striking confutation of the heated words of the chroniclers. It tells us in the plainest way that Stephen, who obviously was not in Yorkshire at the time, had nevertheless all the powers of a king over districts to the north of York.

A much less distinct instance, for the earl of Leicester arranged a compromise, is the case in which, some time after 1147, Robert de Meppershall intended to take legal proceedings (*placitare*) against the monks of Bittlesden; but the intention to plead implies a court and a judge whose decisions will be respected, and the intervention of the earl was noticeably that of a friend, not that of a half-independent ruler.[1]

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[1] John FitzGilbert, better known as John le Marshal. He had been an opponent of the king, notably at the battle of Winchester, and had won over Patrick earl of Salisbury, whose sister, Sibylla, he married.

A formal suit before the *Curia Regis* in 1148.

The chronicle of Battle abbey gives one valuable piece of evidence as to the administration of justice under Stephen, in 1148, and the words used are deserving of close attention. Hilary of Chichester claimed jurisdiction over the abbey, whereupon the abbot laid his complaint before the *aula regis*[2] at St. Albans. A day was given by the king on the octave of St. Andrew for the hearing in London "*coram se, episcopis, et baroni-*" "*bus suis,*" and the case was given by Stephen in favour of the abbot.

The further stage of proceedings, much later, before Henry II. himself, was not more legally formal.

A cause remitted by the *Curia Regis* to the shire-moot, and moved thence to the court of the abbot of Bury, about 1150.

Far more striking than any previous instance is a case derived by Blomefield from the registers of the great monastic house at Bury St. Edmunds.[3]

He states that, about 1150, Stephen sent William Martel as his deputy to Norwich to settle affairs in that part of the kingdom. Martel summoned the notables of East Anglia to meet him in the bishop's garden, and he there presided over a court of the county, which included William Turbe, bishop of Norwich, Nigel bishop of Ely, Ording abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, Daniel abbot of St. Benet-at-Hulme, William de Chesney, Henry de Rye and others.

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[1] There is an interesting charter in the *Monasticon*, ii., p. 68, which directs the sheriff of Wilts "*resa-*" "*siare monachos . . . de Theokes-*" "*buria*" of lands of which Walter de Pinkney had unjustly disseised them. Walter was in prison from 1145 until shortly before his death, in 1147 (*Gesta Steph.*, p. 113); but the date of the presence of a sheriff in this county, a real theatre of war, cannot be safely inferred from the materials.

[2] "*Curiam apud Sanctum Al-*" "*banum adiit propere atque hoc*" "*regiæ intulit aulæ.*"

[3] F. Blomefield (Hist. of Norfolk, iii., p. 28, note) states that this account is "*E Regro. Chartarum*" "*Abb. Sti. Edi., fo.* 60," adding "*in veteri etiam Regro. in-*" "*tratur.*" The registers of this abbey are extraordinarily numerous, bulky, and closely written, and the present editor has failed to trace the document; but Blomefield is above suspicion.

Two cases which interested abbot Ording are alone reported, and the first only concerns us here. Jordan de Blossevile and Richard de Waldar, two gentlemen of the court, brought forward a lad named Herbert to bear testimony against two knights, Robert FitzGilbert and another, for holding treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies within the beleaguered town of Bedford. Stephen had sent the cause down to be judged by the county, but abbot Ording, whose knights the accused men were, claimed the hearing for his own court, and obtained respite of judgment until he could see the king.

The king's decision on this appeal was to the effect that all justice originally belonged to the court of the county, and he would adopt the ruling of that court as to the privileges of the monastery.

The parties returned to Norwich and there Sir Hervy de Glanvil, an aged knight, rose in the shire-moot and said that from his fifty years of legal experience he was sure that the cause belonged to the abbot.

Hereupon with the assent of the sheriffs, Roger Gulafer and William Frechnei, the abbot's liberties were declared good, and William Martel reported in that sense to Stephen, who confirmed the proceedings. A little while afterwards, on his visit to Bury, the good-natured king pardoned the traitors.[1]

If we do not venture to assert that we have before us an instance of an *iter* of a judge rising in contradiction of the statement that there were no justices itinerant in Stephen's reign, we may at least confidently say that there could not be more distinct evidence that local and central courts of justice at this date were organised not only for independent, but also for concerted action.

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[1] In confirmation of the stated date of this document we have the following: William Turbe became bishop in 1146; Ording became abbot in 1148; abbot Daniel died in November, 1153.

Formal recognitions of Novel Disseisin in Stephen's reign.

It is curious that we can trace with practical certainty to a date between 1136 and, at the latest, the end of 1143, an early instance of another interesting piece of formal legal procedure. Both documents are printed by Madox,[1] and one by Bigelow,[2] but these writers have failed to compare them with earl Geoffrey's charter, in 1136, to his foundation at Walden,[3] which is witnessed by the very person, Adelard de Guerris,[4] to whom the writ from which we quote is addressed. We need therefore feel no doubt that it originated with the Geoffrey de Mandeville who was earl of Essex up to 1143:—

> " G. comes de Essexa, Aelardo de Guerris salutem.
> " Præcipio tibi quod . . . reddas canonicis Sancti Martini
> " . . . bladum suum de Godicestra et omnes res suas, quas
> " homines mei inde ceperunt . . . *Et fac recognosci per*
> " *vicinium et probos homines illius provinciæ*, si quinque acræ
> " terræ quas Walterus Longus tenet et illos inde disaisivit,
> " quas illi canonici calumniant, sint de eorum tenuera, *et si*
> " *recognitum fuerit*, fac inde eos saisiri . . ."[5]

We cannot found on a single document the assertion that the procedure of Recognitions of Novel Disseisin reached a high stage of development in the reign of Stephen, but the words of our charter are singularly clear, and if supported must be held to present a case that cannot be lightly passed over.

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[1] Hist. Excheq., i., 108, note *k*.

[2] M. M. Bigelow, "*Placita Anglo-Normannica*," p. 160.

[3] Dugdale, *Monast.* (ed. 1655), p. 459.

[4] This person does not appear in any other charter in the *Monasticon*, and his name is not on any of the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. as far as they have been at present published (*i.e.*, to 9 Hen. II.).

[5] This document, and the one next quoted, are said to be in the possession of the dean and chapter of Westminster.

And confirmation exists in a charter of Stephen which so abounds with points of interest that it must also be quoted. The allusion to the crusade which it contains would incline us to assign it to 1147, rather than to any other date :—

"S. Rex Angliæ . . . *Ricardo de Luci Justiciario et M[oricio]* " *vicecomiti de Essexa* salutem. Præcipio quod faciatis habere " et tenere Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo fratri meo, et canonicis Sancti Martini Londoniæ, ita in pace . . . mariscum " suum . . . *sicut recognitum et testificatum fuit coram Moricio vicecomite in hundredo apud Meldonam*, quod tenuerunt " tempore Regis Henrici et die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, et " deinceps usque ad diem quo Walterus filius Gisleberti movit " ad pergendum Jerosolimam ; et super hoc non ponantur " inde in placitum injuste donec Walterus redeat in Angliam " . . . T. Roberto de Ver apud Lond."[1]

We have thus at a date between 1136 and 1143 Recognitions of Novel Disseisin in full use, though the hearing at this date was before the sheriff, not before itinerant justices. The system of recognitions was of early growth ; but there is really no evidence that under Henry II. the special procedure of the Grand Assize, the selection of four electors by the sheriff, extended to Recognitions of Novel Disseisin. On the contrary all the information we have goes to show that in these the recognitors were chosen by the sheriff.[2]

Twelve being a purely customary number no significance attaches to it, and thus nothing remains to show that the Recognitions of Novel Disseisin under Stephen were not as full, formal, and effective as those heard before the justices itinerant under his successor.

If we refer to Bigelow's "*Placita Anglo-Normannica*"[3] we shall see a most curious series of writs ranging from the year 1111, and displaying the course of legal evolution from a rudimentary writ up to the full form given by Glanvile. It is, however, remarkable that no one of the *actual* writs instanced by Mr. Bigelow, even during the reign of Henry II. himself, is nearly so clear as to the mode of procedure as Stephen's second writ cited above, and it is only the typical or *specimen* writ given by Glanvile which excels it in indications of judicial mechanism.

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[1] Madox: *Formulare Anglic.*, p. 40, No. LXVIII. (from the original in Westm. Abbey).

[2] Glanvile, lib. xiii. cap. 2 and cap. 3.

[3] M. M. Bigelow, "*Pl. Angl.* " *Norm.*, or Law Cases from William I. to Richard I.," pp. 108, 130, 169, 170, 250, 320. It is a pity that Mr. Bigelow worked upon so very limited a series of charters. Some of the most important in Stephen's reign have escaped his notice altogether.

Attitude of certain nobles.

Quitting the subject of legal procedure, we may remark that so much turns on a true comprehension of the position of a few nobles during this reign, that it will be profitable to consider what charters as well as chronicles can tell us about the attitude of some of the leaders.

Robert earl of Leicester.

The brothers Robert earl of Leicester and Waleran count of Meulan, with Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton and son-in-law to earl Robert, held, as has already been said, the heart of the Midlands; but there were important points of difference in their behaviour.

Setting aside what happened in 1141—and indeed it was a sort of loyalty which proposed to substitute one brother, Theobald of Blois, for another who was in prison and regarded as lost—we can say that earl Robert of Leicester was the king's friend more or less sincerely up to the beginning of 1153.[1] From that date his support was given to the Angevin side.[2]

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[1] Gervase, i., 152, 3. The words *ducis se duci* should probably be read *comitis se duci*. As to the passage in John of Hexham under 1150, see p. xlix, note 1. Stephen (between 1141 and 1146) gave to earl Robert the county of Hereford, Duncombe, Hist. Heref. 232.

[2] His foundation of St. Mary's, Leicester (in 1143), is confirmed by Stephen (*Mon. Anglic.*, vi., pt. i., p. 466). He appears later as a witness with Ranulph of Chester (therefore in or before 1153) to a charter (Dugdale's *Monast.*, ed. 1655, i., 821) given at Gloucester by Henry *duke of Normandy* (therefore after Sept. 1151). This charter must thus be dated 1153, for Henry was not in England between 1149 and 1153.

The earl died in 1167 after passing fifteen years in the cloister at Leicester, so his assistance to Henry was probably only given in the form of supplies and moral support, the latter a form of aid which, however, had been of substantial value to his own brother Waleran when Stephen was attacking Worcester. Indeed the words of Gervase will bear no interpretation in the direction of armed support.

The Cartulary of St. Benet-at-Hulme affords us a charter,[1] safely attributable to the year 1137, which gives a clear idea of the earl's position at the opening of the reign:—

> R. com Leg' baronibus regis de Hastingg' salutem. Præcipio quod abbas et monachi de Hulmo teneant bene et in pace . . terras suas in Gernemut' . . . . Et nisi feceritis vicecomes de Norfolc faciat, et nisi fecerit ego faciam. T. R. Basset per breve regis de ultra mare.

Waleran of Meulan.

These words are seemingly those of a justiciary carrying on the king's government during his absence, though we do not detect much abatement of tone when Stephen is in England, and indeed the earl's brother, Waleran of Meulan, could issue a precipe set in no lower key:—

> G. comes Mell. justiciariis et baronibus vicecomitibus et præpositis et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Wirecestr., et de Wiceo salutem. Præcipio quod monachi de Rading . . . . . . sint quieti de theloneo.[2]

The position of the count of Meulan was peculiar.

After fighting for Stephen in Normandy he came to England with him and was a prime instigator of the attack on the bishops in 1139. Then we see him fighting at Lincoln in February 1141, and retreating from the lost battle; but though Ordericus Vitalis tells us that, with earl Simon and others, he still adhered to the lost cause, we find him at some date after the end of 1141, witnessing the empress Maud's charter to

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[1] Cott. Galba, E. ii., *fo.* 33 *b.*

[2] *Monast. Anglic.*, iv. 56.

Bordesley abbey.[1] With his brother earl Robert he had been at the Lenten conference at Mortain in 1141, and had arranged at least a truce with the Angevins —probably something more, for he had much to lose on the Norman side of the sea. Robert of Torigni[2] is more definite in his words than Ordericus, saying, "*concordiam fecit cum comite Gaufrido Andegavensi*" and this must be the truth, for in 1144 he assisted at the attack on Rouen. In 1146 he went to the Holy Land, but he returned, and appears, in 1153, as a prisoner in the hands of his own nephew.

In 1150 and 1151 Stephen, who was gradually recovering lost positions, made assaults on Worcester castle; but his attacks were apparently deluded by the artifices of Robert of Leicester, who was the natural protector of count Waleran's property, and who seems to have had influence enough to keep it from confiscation. The count of Meulan was brother-in-law to Roger earl of Warwick, who allied himself with the empress as early as 1141,[3] and we thus have a chain of family connexions, extending from an open enemy of the king, earl Roger, through Waleran of Meulan, and Robert of Leicester to William of Warenne,[4] and Simon earl of Northampton, the most uncompromising of the king's adherents. As an absentee, Waleran counts for comparatively little, and the essential factors were the three last-named nobles.

It would thus appear that the Eastern Midlands, up to the practical termination of the great struggle in 1147–8, were held by three members of one family, which, so far as England was concerned, was essentially faithful to the king. The effect of this circumstance can scarcely be over-estimated. So great was it that when Robert of Gloucester made his splendid march on Lincoln, in 1141, he kept his destination a secret,[1] lest his men should turn from so desperate an enterprise. So great was it that Ralph of Chester, in 1146, was seemingly obliged to resort to a feigned alliance with Stephen in order to avoid the barrier and strike, as he hoped, a treacherous blow for his own advantage. The fortunes of the Angevins in 1146 were low, there being, moreover a split in their faction, and it appears from the narrative of the *Gesta* that the earl of Chester, perhaps secretly aiming at the crown, strove to entangle Stephen in a joint expedition against the Welsh. These turbulent neighbours were really molesting the earl,[2] but his true design, as we may read in the *Gesta*, was to avail himself of the dark chances of a distant expedition. If this were the earl's thought, and it seems to have been widely suspected, the guilty hand of Peverel paid him in his own coin.

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[1] Milo is earl of Hereford in the charter referred to (Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., xxxi., p. 392); but we also have count Waleran witnessing the queen's charter to Coggeshall, dated 26 December, and given in 1141—for the convent met in August 1142.

[2] i., 225.

[3] *Gesta*, p. 81.

[4] Half-brother to count Waleran. William of Warenne died in 1148.

Ralph earl of Chester.

By the capture of earl Ralph in 1146, Stephen gained Lincoln,[3] a city which had always been personally friendly to him, and the county was given to Gilbert de Gaunt, brother, it is said, of the chancellor.

William of Albemarle.

We have seen signs of the faithfulness of William earl of Albemarle, but in 1148, on the occasion of the opposition offered by Stephen to Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, we see this earl and Eustace maintaining the king's cause at the cost, on the earl's part, of suffering excommunication.

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[1] W. of Malmesb., 741.

[2] Dugd. *Monast.*, ed. 1655, i., 890, *l.* 20; *Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls ed., p. 179.

[3] Lincoln castle and city had been granted by Stephen to the earl of Chester as a sort of pledge until, first, his lands in Normandy, and, secondly, the castle of Tickhill, should have been restored to him. Duchy of Lanc. Charters (Pub. Rec. O.). See 31st Rept. of Dep. Keeper, Appx., p. 2. His brother William de Roumare was earl of Lincoln.

William Martel.

Richard de Luci probably Stephen's justiciary.

In addition to him there are two men of less exalted rank who deserve especial notice. These are William Martel and Richard de Luci, who appear everywhere as the king's companions in arms. Such was the character and ability of the latter that, after 1154, we find him just as much valued and trusted by Henry II. as by his predecessor. Whether he was justiciar or not during the later years of Stephen is not certain. The extensibility of the word *justiciarius* in the charter quoted on p. xxxviii. may or may not be conceded; but if we note that the common forms of address of Stephen's charters are: "*justiciis, vicecomitibus*," "*Roberto filio Walteri et ministris*," "*Radulfo filio comitis et vice-comiti de Chent*," "*Willelmo de Ipra et ministris et burgensibus Cantuariæ*," we shall perhaps be prepared to attach greater meaning to yet another charter which begins thus:—

> "Stephanus, rex Angliæ, Ricardo de Luci *justiciario*, et "vicecomiti de Essexa salutem."[1]

The part played by Stephen's reign in the development of the nation.

If we attempt to view great events as terms in a mathematical expansion, or as stages of development in a scheme of evolution, we shall experience difficulty in satisfactorily assigning any share in the work of national progress to such an epoch as the reign of Stephen. If we ask ourselves by what causes, apart from the irregular play of will of a few principal actors, the sudden lapse from order took place, we are confronted by an apparently insoluble problem.

If we set aside the men of London, Bristol, York, and some other towns, and think of the population at large, the silence of the chroniclers well assures us that the lower orders played no appreciable part in the drama, save that of silent sufferers.

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[1] Madox, Hist. Exch. 33 (note *r*). The charter on p. xxxviii. gives reason for supposing that Richard de Luci was not *justiciarius* and *vicecomes*, but that the name of the *vicecomes* is merely omitted here.

The barons and their retainers—Normans, of course to a man, with their savagery accentuated in the west by Welsh mercenaries and supplemented in the south and east by Breton and Flemish coterells,—fought as partisans of rival rulers, and even a few of them as robber barons, seeking to hold their own and increase it, without looking forward to any future of justice and strong rule, living in the present and waiting to profit by the turn of events. As to what signs of progress might have been marked in the English population had they grown prosperous under leaders of their own race instead of becoming slaves under masters of another, it would be idle to speculate. They were but as dull clay in the hands of the potters, and the potters had now quarrelled over their work. Once, it is true, in this reign, at the call of the church, the populace went forth to fight in the open field, and then indeed they showed themselves in arm and heart worthy sons of the men of Senlac, yet they did but defend their homes against a foreign foe, and that done they returned silently to their humble drudgery. On a second occasion,[1] apparently finding earl Hervey an unendurable neighbour, the " simple rustics," as the author of the *Gesta* calls them, contrived to drive their enemy from Devizes—a considerable feat of war of which we should like to have further details. Still our English forefathers seem at this date to have had no collective aims, for a Tarquin-like policy had laid low all the taller heads, all, indeed, who could rise far enough from earth to note the existence of an horizon.[2]

Position of the English population.

With a Hereward or a Wallace to lead them they might have completely changed the drama by rising at a chosen moment. Secretly allying himself with the Welsh, and waiting for such a juncture as Geoffrey de

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[1] p. 73.

[2] There is an indistinct notice of a rising of the English in the North, but it was speedily quelled.

Mandeville's outburst into furious rebellion, the English leader might have succeeded in crushing the king first and the empress afterwards. But the man did not appear at the critical time, and it is to the Normans we must look if we are to trace any meaning in the events of the period.

Certainly England was thrown into a veritable crucible, but was it within the refiner's fire or the foundry furnace? Perhaps in the operations of the latter we may trace a little of the results of the former, for the bronze was melting ready to be cast into its first rough shape, and the fierce heat was altering its constituents no less than weakening their resistance to fusion and commixture.

So swiftly was this result reached that bishop Richard the Treasurer, writing but twenty-three years later,[1] could tell of a blending so complete that Norman children could hardly be distinguished from English, except in the villein class.

Concurrently with the warring at home there was the oft-mentioned drain of the fiercer Norman spirits abroad towards the East, a bourne from which, William of Newburgh tells us, not a fourth of them ever returned.

The Norman race in England was thus purged of its most turbulent elements, and the residue was so tamed by sheer exhaustion as to welcome and appreciate for a time the peace which followed.

A further outburst and a new letting of hot blood took place in 1173 and 1174, two years which brought England apparently to the verge of an epoch similar to the one which had passed away; but the elements of the strife were different, for twenty years of Henry's peace, justice, and even taxation, and notably his training of professional soldiers and judges, had brought to both races greater wealth and greater opportunities of the better sort.

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[1] *Dial. de Scacc.*, Bp. Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 201.

Controlling power of the Church.

Another force by which a peaceful settlement was ultimately brought about was notoriously the action of the Church.

When we watch the course of events under Stephen, our minds cast back to the days of Gregory the Great, and the critical time when imperial power had vanished from Italy, leaving the Church face to face with barbaric invaders.

What Gregory then did bravely and gloriously in the face of the world, the Church in a less obvious way did for England through the dreadful years between 1136 and 1147. An organised force, which was, broadly speaking, almost neutral, spread over the most hotly contested shires, moderating the strife by continuous pressure, here punishing excesses by excommunication, there making efforts for peace, in a third place endeavouring to mitigate the misery of captives.

It is impossible to read the letters of Gilbert Foliot without being impressed by the fact that the storm of war had ruffled only the surface of the Church, and had failed to penetrate its depths.

Stephen, for example, is compelled to an outward repentance for his treatment of certain bishops; a prelate in the west excommunicates earl Milo, the empress Maud's powerful partisan, and her friend, the abbot of Gloucester, appeals to the king's brother to use his legatine influence in the earl's favour; lastly, the same abbot, who is elsewhere seen as one of the empress's correspondents, requests his friend, Jocelin bishop of Salisbury, a man raised to the prelacy by the favour of Stephen, to use his authority against two of Maud's supporters.

It is a rough analogy to say that in these, as in other ancient days, the Church stood to the State in somewhat the same position as that recently held by equity with respect to the common law. Where the latter failed altogether, equity supplied its place; where its logic became senselessly harsh, equity moderated its action.

That such men as Henry of Winchester and Alexander of Lincoln were the most worldly of churchmen is nothing to the point. They wielded spiritual authority with none the less temporal force, and there were, happily, better men, like archbishop Theobald, who boldly refused to crown the king's son, and at a later date succeeded in keeping the peace of the realm unbroken during days of dread when there was no king in the land.

This continuous pressure, like other forces which act *non vi, sed sæpe cadendo*, never too visible, never relaxing its hold, and exerting steady influence on high and low alike, did, as we have seen, in the end bring the reign of Stephen to a happy conclusion.

There is much intense writing about this period in the chronicles, and we may be easily misled into regarding as general descriptions certain graphic touches which should only be viewed as the accentuated passages of the author's theme.

Portions of England principally affected by the war.

If we take a map of England and trace on it the marchings and countermarchings of armies, and mark centres like Ramsey and Coventry, which were for a time in the possession of robber barons, we shall probably obtain a fairer idea of the localities chiefly affected by the strife than by any other course.

It will be seen that three-fourths of the warfare which preceded 1148 went on within a district bounded on the north by the valley of the Thames as far down as Wallingford, and by lines running respectively from Bristol and Reading southwards to the sea. This was the area which suffered worst of all, and the period referred to was the one which included four-fifths of the distress.

When peace with Scotland had been concluded in 1139, England north of Tyne passed into the hands of king

David, and the north-west fell to the earl of Chester and a few others, who ruled entirely or partially for themselves, but not, so far as appears, with cruelty. When Cornwall and Devonshire had endured one or two marches of opposing armies they too had peace. Kent, Surrey, Essex, and other districts round London, were practically unaffected. Suffolk[1] for a time was free from warfare, and Norfolk suffered but little, though Cambridge, Bedford, and the Isle of Ely endured temporarily a considerable share of hardship as did also, and no doubt more continuously, the Welsh marches.

The period from 1147 to 1153 was one of unbroken peace.

The stress of the war was all over by the end of 1147. From that year until the opening of 1153 there were—we say it in conscious opposition to most that has been written on the subject—five clear years of unbroken peace;[2] for the expeditions which Stephen led were but the military measures of a king recovering at his leisure the rights he had lost in time of war. The taking of Bridgenorth and other early deeds of Henry II. might as well be described by the name of war as Stephen's assaults on Worcester. Indeed the distinction for which we argue appears a very real one when duly considered. It is in fact all the difference between military justice on high offenders, and belligerency; between the lawful acts of armed majesty, which give a people confidence in their king's administration, and the uncertain issues of war, which fill men's minds with alarm for the future.

The earl of Chester, the lord of Wallingford, and a few others, remained cowed in their fortresses, and

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[1] Jocelin de Brakelond, ed. Camden Soc., p. 102, gives an interesting hint of the way in which protection was sought during troublous times. The abbot of Bury granted two manors, subject to a reserved rent, as a retaining fee to Adam de Cokefeld for protecting the convent against two neighbouring castellans. The *Rot. Cur. Regis* for 6 Ric. I., however, furnish a sarcastic commentary on the success of this particular measure.

[2] The words written by Gervase as to anarchy under 1150 were written, as bishop Stubbs shows, 38 years later. They are supported by no external evidence.

Stephen slowly and carefully proceeded with the work of recovery; not venturing anything in great and costly expeditions; blockading rather than besieging; and making light forays rather than advances in force.

Stephen's real power at this time is well indicated by three points, the utter collapse of the projected invasion from the north in 1149; the expedition of Eustace against Normandy in 1151; and the fact that earl Robert of Leicester was driven to defend his brother's possessions by wiles rather than by arms.[1]

The limits of Stephen's kingdom.

What conclusion will it now be safe to draw after comparing the faint and scattered traces of the charters with the statements of the chronicles? Perhaps this, that except for a few weeks in 1141, Stephen had round him at the worst of times the nucleus of a kingdom, small but compact; and that continuously within its narrow limits, and for long periods outside them, justice was regularly administered after the manner of the age, while an exchequer system was also duly at work. The minimum probably comprised the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, part of Hampshire and Berks, Buckingham, Northampton, Bedford, Herts, Essex, and Suffolk.

Beyond this the allegiance, among others, of the Beaumonts in the Midlands, of the Gaunt family in Lincolnshire, and of William of Albemarle in Yorkshire spread the power of the king practically for the whole of his reign over much wider limits, while between 1147 and 1153 the king's enemies held to their fastnesses in sullen dread, offering no active resistance to his power. What the position of Cornwall and Devonshire was is not so clear, as they were almost cut off from the rest of England by the arena of the great combat.

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[1] As to the passage in John of Hexham (Rolls ed., pp. 324, 325), about an attack by the earl of Chester on Lincoln in 1150 see p. xvi, note 1.

Exeter was taken by Stephen in 1136, and could not have been lost without a serious siege.[1] Cornwall, however, seems to have been recovered by Reginald in 1141, and so far as we know remained for an indefinite time out of allegiance to the king. Indeed the passage on p. 108 of the *Gesta* as to Stephen de Mandeville renders it almost certain that these two counties were, as a whole, out of the king's power.

Norfolk, another important shire, rendered partially and transiently disloyal more than once by Hugh Bigod, was, however, as we have seen, controllable by the earl of Leicester in 1137, while in the years 1146–9 charters show us the king's nephew Hugh holding the position of abbot of the great monastery of St. Benet-at-Hulme,[2] and a sheriff, William de Chesney, installed in the county.[3]

Limits of the empress Maud's rule in 1147.

It seems, too, that in 1147, when she was deciding to give up the struggle, at least for a time, the empress had but a narrow belt of country under her nominal sovereignty.[4] The advantage which her geographical position with regard to Wales gave her had been very great, for though in no sense her allies, but always ready to slay and plunder impartially, the Welsh population afforded a cheap and practically inexhaustible supply of effective mercenaries, without which her small territory must have been quickly drained of its fighting elements.

A district of vague extent round Bristol, with isolated outposts at Wallingford and Devizes, a portion of

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[1] A charter to St. Peter's, Exeter, granted as reparation for damage done by the siege, is among the MSS. of the earl of Devon (IX. Rep. Hist. MSS. Com., p. 406). One witness, Richard de Luci, came from Normandy about the end of 1138; another, Turgis of Avranches, rebelled early in 1145; but the precise date of the document is uncertain.

[2] Cott. Galba E. II., *fo.* 33 *b.* This Hugh became abbot of Chertsey later on.

[3] Cott. Galba E. II., *fo.* 57 *b.*

[4] Of the 47 mints issuing coin at this date only 11 lay within her jurisdiction, and probably few of these were working, for her coins are extremely rare.

Gloucestershire and Monmouth, these probably belonged to her in a more or less royal sense; but the king was established in Coventry, he held Cricklade and the valley of the Thames as far as Oxford, and Eustace was more than keeping the earl of Chester in check in the north-west. Even Herefordshire had become one of the earldoms of Robert of Leicester,[1] who was at that time loyal, and Worcestershire seems to have been held by him in a kind of trust for his absent and disloyal brother Waleran. The Angevins were thus hemmed in, and it is not to be wondered at that, when Robert of Gloucester unexpectedly died of a fever at the end of 1147, his sister left England, at the latest, at the beginning of the succeeding year.[2]

The accounts in the chroniclers too highly coloured.

Again, as has already been stated, the remainder of England in the hands of such men as Ralph of Chester, seems, so far as the bare evidence of charters extends, to have been ruled not ravaged, though of course the neighbourhood of a castle garrisoned by Flemings, or the path of an army composed of men like Geoffrey de Mandeville's adherents, must have been the scene of such hellish mischief as the Peterborough chronicle eloquently depicts. That hideous cruelties were plentiful is quite certain; but that England south of Humber suffered anything approaching to the horrors of the Scotch invasions is practically denied by the visible results of the time; for what otherwise is the explanation of the ascertained fact that, in William of Newburgh's words, the troubled reign of Stephen saw the foundation of more religious houses than all the previous hundred years? How are we to account for the interesting trace of a nascent university visible in the appearance of Master Vacarius as a teacher of law at Oxford in the year 1149?[3] How, too, are we to account for the first coming of the Premonstratensian order to England in 1148? The narrow spirit of a past generation spoke of attempts to purchase with money the forgiveness of Heaven. But we would rather have it that the better spirits of the time were zealous for the increase of mitigating influences.

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[1] See p. xxxiii.

[2] Gervase says in March 1147, but the later date, March 1148, is, as we have already said, more probable.

[3] R. of Torigni, i. 250.

What a monastery could be on a day of battle let John of Worcester portray. The valuables of his monastery and the relics of the saints are thrust into hollow spaces in the walls—his church is filled with household goods, with women and children. Within the choir a priest is chanting; outside it an infant weeping, the voice of sucklings and of wailing mothers mixes with the psalmody.

To learn what a monastery could be a few years later and at a time of less acute suffering, let us listen to Jocelin de Brakelond[1] telling us that in war times even Jewish mothers and children were fed from the monastery stores, while the richer Jews, though instinct with the fears natural to a hunted race, placed their money in the hands of the abbey sacrist.

We see then that isolated facts, like the coins which deny the assertion that Stephen debased his currency,[2] seem to stand in defiant contradiction of certain recurring statements of all the chroniclers, who are yet for the most part incontestably veracious men.

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[1] p. 8.

[2] From inquiries made in the coin department of the British Museum it would appear that no *debased* coin of this reign is known to exist. Hawkins (ed. Kenyon, p. 176) affirms that even the baronial coins are of good metal, "though somewhat below the legal "weight, or 22½ grs." The find of 180 coins recorded in the Numismatic Chronicle (Series III., vol. 3, pp. 108–116) exhibits some pieces of very light weight, "though all are of good silver." Mr. Wakeford says, "whereas the "majority weigh as usual, 20 to "22, or even as high as 23 grains, "others, though finely preserved, "weigh as low as 18, 16, 15, 13, "and even 12 grains, the light "specimens being all of type "Hawkins, 270."

We can find abundant excuse for those who have depicted the reign of Stephen as a thick darkness broken by lurid flashes of destructive agencies, and in our endeavour to realise the truth we must be careful to avoid an opposite extreme of treatment. Extant evidence demands that we should lower the tone of the picture by many degrees, not that we should alter its lines. When our duty in this respect has been done with caution we shall still find ourselves bound to supply a sufficiently sorrowful representation of the desolation wrought by the unbridled passions of a dominant race.

Loss of the MS. of the *Gesta Stephani.*

It has been already intimated that the manuscript of the *Gesta Stephani* is no longer forthcoming. The present edition is therefore founded on that of André Duchesne printed in his very rare work entitled "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*"[1] In his preface Duchesne gives us all we know for certain about the MS. :—

> "Ordricum excipit alius sine nomine Historicus, qui Gesta "Stephani Anglorum Regis, et Comitis Boloniensis scripsit. "Certè contemporaneum ipsius Regis, et partium eius fautorem "fuissè, quæ refert in pluribus Historiæ suæ locis, indicant. "Hunc do ex veteri, sed imperfecto et semiexeso Exemplari "Episcopi; Laudunensis, quod mihi benignè obtulit D. Georgius "de Y Doctor Theologus Parisiensis, Regis Christianissimi "Consiliarius et Prædicator ordinarius, necnon Vicarius "generalis reuerendissimi Domini Benjamini de Brichanteau "Episcopi-Ducis Laudunensis ac Franciæ Paris."

The catalogue of the Public Library of Laon unfortunately shows no trace of such a volume, and we are left to the evidence afforded by the printed copy itself. The manuscript had lost whole leaves when Duchesne saw it, and it ended abruptly with pages which had suffered damage; but these very losses enable us to decide that no lacuna existed in addition to those which

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[1] Paris, 1619, pp. 927 to 975. There is in the Stowe collection in the British Museum a MS., No. 974, entitled "*Gesta Stephani Regis.*" It is, unfortunately, only a 17th century transcript from Duchesne's edition, not an independent copy from the original MS.

Duchesne detected. This fact is valuable in relation to the interesting portion of the history which treats of Henry's expedition in 1147.

The tedious reasoning by which this result and those which follow have been provisionally established by the present editor must be relegated to a foot-note;[1] but the main points may be succinctly stated.

Probable size of the MS.

The MS. seems to have been written straight across the page. Each page contained the equivalent of from 40 to 43 lines of the print of the present edition, and each line held about 11 words.

If we suppose it to have been an average specimen, and in an ordinary 12th century hand, we can go so far as to say that the written page measured about 4¾ by 3¾ inches, and that the outside dimensions of the volume most likely were 6½ by 5 inches.

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[1] The lacunæ on pp. 130–135 fall almost into columns in Duchesne's folio pages, and clearly show themselves to be the result of damage to the outer margins of the dorse of the last three folios: the faces cannot have been affected, for reasons which will appear. The number of lines between the end of the first string of lacunæ and the end of the second in the present edition gives us a *rough* measure of 80 or 81 lines to the folio. This number is, of course, liable to variations (up to about 86), probably caused by interlineations and corrections; but it is fairly correct, for, on counting the lines between the breaks on pp. 1, 30, 36, 45, 69, 85, and 134, we shall find that the resulting numbers are approximately multiples of 81. This gives us a series of 11, 2, 4, 9, 6, and 17 folios, and an imperfect folio, representing the last page but one and the injured page at the end, completes 50 folios.

Examining the broken lines about p. 133 we see that they must have averaged about 11 words. This is too much for any ordinary MS. written in *double* columns. There are about 275 words to a page, or 25 lines of 11 words. An average specimen of a 12th century MS. of these dimensions measures 4¾ by 3¾ inches for the written page, and 6½ by 5 inches for the outside measure.

The margins of face as well as dorse, as we have said, cannot have been affected, for there must otherwise have been 550 words to a *page*, instead of 550 to the folio. This would give 50 lines of 11 words to a page—an abnormal shape, unless indeed we also suppose double columns; but this again would involve a page of unprecedented size.

The omission of the T from *talia* on p. 24, *l.* 17, through the usual forgetfulness of rubricators, points to the existence of coloured or large black capitals elsewhere in the book.

There seem to have been initial letters, perhaps in colour, and at the time Duchesne worked there were exactly 50 folios remaining. Whether or not it was the author's autograph is, of course, uncertain. Probably it was, but we cannot feel at all sure, for, although an author's corrections and interpolations might be supposed to have caused considerable differences between the pages, the existing variations are in fact very slight, and if the MS. were a fair copy would be well accounted for by mere alterations of hand, or by the varying extent to which contractions were used by different copyists. Whatever may be the truth on this doubtful point the actually slight variation in the length of pages has suggested the placing of asterisks in the margins of this edition to indicate approximately and provisionally the places at which new folios began.

Previous edition of the *Gesta Stephani.*

Duchesne's text was reprinted for the English Historical Society in 1846, under the editorship of Dr. Richard Clarke Sewell. It is, however, difficult to speak gratefully of this edition, for Dr. Sewell seems to have been so impressed by the excellent results of comparing his chronicle with William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella,* a work which contains no facts after the end of 1142, that he has continued his comparisons almost to the end of the *Gesta* without being aware that he is citing Malmesbury's testimony as to events which, so far as we know, happened after the chronicler's death—certainly after he had ceased to write.[1]

To offer avowed emendations is, of course, right and proper; but it is far otherwise for an editor to alter the spelling of proper names,[2] and to make minor changes without telling his readers what he has done. On the other hand Dr. Sewell tolerates such inflections as *canium* and *prudentium*, and, while complaining of Duchesne's punctuation, floods his own pages with commas. Furthermore, in editing an almost dateless chronicle, he omits to help his readers by putting a single date into his margins.

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[1] See for example the note on p. 125 of his edition. The passage as to Stephen's illness (in 1142) is cited with reference to his wound in 1147.

[2] On p. 63 of his edition (p. 63 also in the present volume), he changes Duchesne's spelling *Ramensem* into *Rumensem,* and asserts in the margin that a monk was made abbot of Rumsey—a nunnery.

Two translations of the *Gesta* have been published, one by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson in 1858,[1] the other by Mr. Thomas Forester.[2]

RICARDUS HAUGUSTALDENSIS DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI.

This short chronicle, extending from 1135 to 1139, is preserved in MS. No. 139 in archbishop Parker's library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It immediately follows in that volume the "*Cronica Abbatis Pru-" mensis Ecclesiæ*" which end on *fo.* 36 *b*. The same MS. contains 16 tractates, including the chronicle of John of Hexham and a version of St. Aelred's account of the Battle of the Standard. It is a folio volume written in double columns of 36 or 37 lines to the page, and is the only copy of prior Richard's work which is extant.

The handwriting is of the 13th century. The contents of the volume leave no doubt that it belonged to Hexham priory.

The merit of collecting the facts known as to the author is due to canon James Raine, from whose excellent edition of the Hexham chronicles the following summary is taken.

Richard probably refers to himself in cap. ix. of his work as to the church of Hexham when he speaks of

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[1] "The Church Historians of England," vol. v., pt. 1.

[2] With Henry of Huntingdon in Bohn's "Antiquarian Library."

"*quidam canonicus nomine Ricardus*."[1] He became prior of Hexham in 1141, in succession to Robert Biselth, and on the 8th of September in that year granted a lease to William de Stonegrave.[2] He was not confirmed in the priorate until 1142.[3] There are other traces of him in charters,[4] but the next dated reference we reach is in 1151, when cardinal John Paparo visited Hexham. Afterwards, in 1152, prior Richard received archbishop Murdac,[5] and then, in 1154, he mentions his own presence at the translation of some relics in Hexham priory.

It is uncertain how long he lived after this, but St. Aelred of Rievaulx, in his account of the Saints of Hexham [6]—a treatise composed before 1167—speaks of him as dead.

The history was no doubt composed by Richard when a canon, for it stops at a date previous to his assumption of the government of the convent. It is entirely original, presenting no trace of adaptation from previous writers,[7] but embodying such public documents as came in the writer's way. Prior Richard has thus preserved to us, in whole or in part, two documents which would otherwise have been totally lost. These are the letter from pope Innocent II. confirming Stephen in the kingdom, and an irregular extract from the same pope's letter as to the schism of 1130.[1]

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[1] Raine's ed., p. 55.

[2] *Collect. Top. et Geneal.*, vi., 42.

[3] John of Hexham, p. 140, ed. Raine.

[4] Deed of gift from Agnes de Holme, *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, vi., 40; gift by Wm. of St. Barbe, *ib.*, p. 41; gift by Walter de Bolbec, Hodgson's Northumberland, i., pt. ii., 167.

[5] John of Hexham.

[6] Ed. Raine, i. 193.

[7] Canon Raine seems to think that Richard borrowed from Malmesbury and from R. of Torigni's continuation of William of Jumiéges; but careful comparison does not confirm the opinion. The preamble of the Westminster Canons, p. 172, appears verbatim in the *Contin. Fl. Wigorn.*, but this is, of course, because both writers had before them copies of a public document. Dr. Liebermann (Pertz, xxvii. p. 11) sees slight traces of Henry of Huntingdon in the account of Henry I.

This work was first published in 1652 by Sir Roger Twysden in his "*Decem Scriptores.*"[2] A second edition was included, as has already been said, by canon Raine in his "Church of Hexham."[3] This furnishes a more correct text, and has full and interesting notes, of which much use has been made in the present edition.

A translation of the chronicle was published by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson in "The Church Historians of "England."[4]

AELREDI RIEVALLENSIS RELATIO DE STANDARDO.

The York MS. "E."

The present text of this curious treatise is derived from a manuscript (XVI., I., 8) belonging to the dean and chapter of York. This is quoted as "E."

It is a small folio, rather thick, containing 200 leaves, measuring 11 inches by 7¼. The handwriting is of the end of the 12th century.

The MS. is written in double columns of about 34 lines, and St. Aelred's treatise occupies the five concluding folios, ending imperfectly with the words "*accipe* "*inquit, ut,*" about 14 lines of print having thus been lost.

On the fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume is an elenchus opening with the words:—

Liber Sc̃e Marie Rievatt
Hec continentur in hac volumine
Jeronimus de hebraicis questionibus.

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[1] p. 168. Canon Raine mentions also the decrees of the Council of Westminster in 1138. Gervase, however, supplies a nearly perfect copy of these.

[2] Col. 309 to col. 330.

[3] Surtees Society.

[4] Vol. iv., pt. i., pp. 35–58.

After marking about 13 other treatises the list ends:—

Expositio mappe mundi.
Relatio de Standar.

A complete list of the contents of this volume may be seen in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* at p. 187, where they are cited from the 14th century catalogue of the Rievaulx Library in MS. N.B. 17 in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge.

The article in this catalogue begins with "*Jeronimus* " *de Hebraicis questionibus*" and ends with "*Ailredus* " *de standardo, de mappa, in uno volumine.*"

The Corpus MS. "P."

A MS. in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 139), contains a 13th century copy of the treatise. This was used by Twysden, but it cannot compare with the York copy, which, belonging to the author's own abbey, and obviously transcribed within thirty years of his death, was doubtless derived from his autograph. This copy has not been collated, except for page 199, where the text depends upon it, but its readings have been inserted whenever desirable. It is quoted as "P."

The Cottonian MS. "C."

A third copy is in Cottonian MS. Titus A. xix., beginning at *fo.* 144 *b.* This is a quarto MS. on paper, in a hand of the 15th century. It affords an absurdly corrupt and interpolated text.

The presentation of so brief a work of the celebrated abbot of Rievaulx does not justify any extended notice of his life or writings. Such an account has been given by canon James Raine on p. li of his preface to his "Church of Hexham." He includes an account of the saint's ancestry, from which we may note that he was the son of Eilaf, a priest of Hexham, and grandson of Eilaf Larwa, priest and treasurer of Durham in 1085—a significant pedigree.

He died on January 12, 1166, in the 57th year of his age. He was buried at Rievaulx, and was canonised in 1191.

He was an extensive writer on theological subjects. Many of his works were printed by Richard Gibbons in 1631.[1] The one now printed was first published by Sir Roger Twysden in 1652.[2]

CHRONIQUE DE JORDAN FANTOSME.

Attention was first called to this poem by Mr. Henry Petrie. It exists associated with the work of Geoffrey Gaimar in two MSS., one a very early 13th century copy, which is in Durham Cathedral Library; the other, written late in the same century, is owned by the dean and chapter of Lincoln.

The Durham MS. "D."

The Durham MS. [C. iv. 27] which forms the basis of the present edition, is a rather small quarto of 166 leaves, Fantosme's poem occupying *fos.* 138 to 166 *b.* The pages measure 9 by 6¼ inches. The poem of Gaimar is written in double columns; but the length of Fantosme's lines compels the use of the whole width. There are about 36 lines to a page, and there are no coloured capitals; but there are marginal section marks, which have been reproduced by the sign § in the present edition. The folios are quoted in the margin from the Durham copy.

The Lincoln MS. "L."

The Lincoln MS. [A. 4. 12., formerly H. 18. 3] comprises 189 leaves, and is larger than the Durham MS., the page measuring 10 by 7¼ inches. There are about 32 lines to a page. Our poem occupies *fos.* 158 to 189, ending abruptly through the loss of a leaf which bore 5 lines. There are large coloured capitals, and every *laisse* is marked by smaller capitals, also in colour. This MS. is referred to as "L."

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[1] It may be useful to note that a MS. of his "*Compendium Speculi Charitatis*" appears, from the Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, ii., p. 147, to be in the library of the Dominican Priory at Woodchester, Stroud.

[2] "*Decem Scriptores*," coll. 337–346.

These MSS. are probably derived directly through one or more copies from one original; but one of them cannot have been copied from the other, for while they contain many mistakes in common, each omits passages that the other contains. There are many gross blunders in each. Passages are repeated in positions in which they become absurd, and others are hopelessly corrupt in both copies. The author is not mentioned in any rubric; but the name Jordan Fantosme occurs five times[1] in a way which marks his identity, the supposed reciter of the poem speaking of Fantosme to his audience as a third person:[2]—

Attribution of the poem to Fantosme.

> Fantosme dit e bien le nus afie.[3]

Again,

> Dehé ait Fantosme, si jà m'orrez mentir.[4]

Furthermore we have the fact that a 13th century hand has written "*auctor libri*" above the name Fantosme occurring in line 1152 in the Lincoln MS.

Personal details respecting the author.

Many more personal particulars are known as to Fantosme than as to most authors of his century. Indeed as we ascertain from the "Voyage Littéraire" of Martene and Durand, ii. p. 99, his portrait is perhaps still in existence. These learned Benedictines, after examining the MSS. at the abbey of St. Amand, wrote as follows:—

> Parmi les livres de Théologie, nous vîmes les commentaires de Gilbert de la Porrée, evêque de Poitier, sur les livres de la Trinité de Boëce. Son portrait est à la tête. . . . . Au-dessous de ce portrait on voit celui de trois de ses disciples, celui du quatrième est dans la lettre initiale. Au-dessous de ces trois portraits on lit cette inscription:
> *Jordanus Fantasma, Ivo Carnotensis decanus, Johannes Belet. Hi tres et ille quartus intensiore studio attenti, mentis acie*

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[1] Verses 521, 668, 674, 903, and 1152.

[2] M. Michel justly points out that the majority of trouvères of the 12th and 13th centuries who have intimated their names, have employed the same means, although with more reserve and less clearness.

[3] l. 674.

[4] l. 1152.

Personal details respecting the author.

perspicacissimi, et sola veritatis specie coacti, sub Pictavensi episcopo viguerunt discipuli, quorum animæ requiescant in pace.[1]

The portrait of the fourth, *Nicholaus,* has a separate inscription.

From John of Salisbury we find that Fantosme was one of the clerks of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester—a curious coincidence if our surmise as to the authorship of the *Gesta Stephani* should ever be confirmed—and we see that he was probably chancellor of the diocese, the only office, so far as we are aware, which would give him any right to maintain against his colleague, John Joichel, the suit referred to in the following letter of John of Salisbury to pope Adrian IV., written of course between 1154 and 1159 :[2]

> Causa quæ vertebatur inter magistrum Jord. Fantasma et magistrum Johannem Joichel., clericos domini Wintoniensis super Wintoniam, tandem translata est ad audientiam nostram. Auditis ergo allegationibus magistri Jord., et instrumentis diligenter inspectis, memorato Johanni vestra et nostra auctoritate inhibuimus ne contra voluntatem Jord. scholas regere presumeret in præfata civitate. Die vero sequenti in nostra presentia constiterunt, multa in se proponentes ad invicem: Jordanus siquidem jam dictum Johannem contra religionem fidei in prædicta civitate sibi scholas usurpasse, et damna plurima intulisse dicebat, officio nostro sibi super his satisfieri pestulans. E contra Johannes se judicio synodi super fidei lesione innocentiam suam purgasse asserebat, et magistrum Jordanum, cui similis purgatio adjudicata est, quoniam super fidei lesione similiter fuerat impetitus, omnino defecisse dicebat, petens ut [eum] urgeremus vel ad purgationem ex judicio prestandam, vel ad inplendam pactionem quæ fide interposita dicebatur fuisse roborata. Illis itaque sic altercantibus, Johannes vestram audientiam appellavit, dicens se ostensurum quod sæpedictus Jordanus religionem fidei et sacramenti temeraverat, diem præfigens nativitatem beati Johannis. Cum vero Jord. prolixitatem temporis causaretur, eo quod ab initio Decembris usque ad finem Junii terminum prorogasset, eam sæpefatus Johannes in festum beati Michaelis protelavit. Nos autem quæstionem criminum vestræ reservantes discretioni,

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[1] Dr. Liebermann, who quotes part of this passage (Pertz, xxvii. p. 53), notes that Gilbert bishop of Poitiers died in 1154.

[2] Ed. Giles, No. xix.

quia de jure scolarum magistri Jordani constabat, communicato fratrum nostrorum Cicestrensis, Herefordensis, [et] Wigorniensis, episcoporum consilio, domino Wintoniensi dedimus in mandatis ne præfatum Jordanum super scholis pateretur a Johanne ulterius fatigari; et, si eum inveniret vestræ et nostræ auctoritatis contemptorem, ipsum publice denuntiaret anathematis vinculo innodatum. Postmodum vero elapsis paucis diebus, in nostram præsentiam redierunt, Jordano veterem querelam innovante. Dicebat enim Johannem post interdictum usurpasse scholas, et in sententiam anathematis incidisse. Johannes vero hoc constantissime inficiatus est, paratus incontinenti, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis jurare quod post prohibitionem nostram a magisterio destiterat. E contra Jordanus se die præfixa probaturum dicebat, assertione legitimorum testium, quod post edictum magisterium exercuerat; sed Johannes diem recipere recusavit, dicens se jam in procinctu Romani itineris esse. Vos autem, auctore Domino, litigiis eorum finem debitum inponetis.

A little later, on April 10, 1160, Richard de Anesty found bishop Henry and his clerk Jordan Fantosme at Fareham. His words are:

"Et inveni episcopum apud Ferham juxta Portesmue, et " inde mecum reduxi magistrum Jordanum Fantasma et " Nicholaum[1] de Chandos, qui testificarent viva voce quod " episcopus ante testificaverat per breve suum."[2]

This passage has caused Sir F. Palgrave to call our poet Giordano Fantasma, and to think that he may have been an Italian; but his Poitevin, or at least French, origin seems now to be certain.

Dialect and metre.

There are peculiarities in the language of the poem which are at present regarded by those who have studied the matter as marks of the Anglo-Norman dialect; but we offer no opinion. They may eventually be found not to exclude the supposition that the author was a Poitevin by birth. Indeed it would be remarkable if a youth educated under the personal oversight of the bishop of Poitou should be proved to have adopted an outlandish form of what we may presume was his native tongue.[1] The prevailing metre is Alexandrine; but there is a piece, from verse 646 to 765, in ten syllable, and another, from line 2033 to 2059, in fourteen syllable verses.

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[1] Perhaps the *Magister Nicholaus* who witnesses one of the bishop of Winchester's charters. *Dugd. Monast.*, ed. 1655, i. 703. Possibly he is the fourth of the disciples of bishop Gilbert. See p. lxii.

[2] Sir F. Palgrave, "*English Commonwealth*," pt. ii., p. lxxviii.

Supposed interpolation.

Efforts have been made to brand the longer of these passages (ll. 646–765) as an interpolation; but when the weightiest part of the argument is seen to be the question " Is it likely that an English canon would go to save " [the Scotch] from the hands of the English?" we perceive that the critic has failed to consider either the negotiations of bishop Hugh of Durham with the Scotch king, or the relations between the archbishop of York and the Scotch clergy which Stubbs, the Dominican chronicler, attests.[2]

The truth may be merely this; that our poet, not a very skilful artist in his craft, sought to relieve the monotony of his long metre by an episode in lighter verse.[3]

The study of early French has been taken up so vigorously in France, Germany, and other countries, that an editor who seeks to present an ancient French text for historical purposes is bound also to consider students of wholly different aim, who care much for the form and little for the substance of what he has sent to press. The wishes of these students will, perhaps, be sufficiently met by a text in exact accord with the MSS., and by a list of variants extending often to mere changes of form.

As regards accentuation scarcely any change has been made in M. Michel's method. Indeed a single volume of "*Romania*" will be seen to include so many individual systems that it is obviously impossible to do more than adopt a tolerably consistent line.

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[1] The Norman dialect or the Poitevin sub-dialect. Of Picard or Burgundian there are no traces.

[2] Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1713.

[3] See also note 1 on p. 259. The word *tense* in this note should be deleted.

With respect to the translation now offered it is necessary to repeat that the aim has been solely historical. M. Michel published a translation with his edition in 1840. On this Mr. Stevenson made some improvements, and the present editor would willingly have confined himself to a few further alterations; but he has felt it incumbent on him to prepare, largely assisted, of course, by the labours of the two eminent scholars just named, a rendering which should be in the main independent. The attempt to turn such early language into readable English would alone be difficult, but *chevilles* are so numerous, pronouns are so often used where names are needed, and the author has so frequently sacrificed sense to rhyme, that the results of a faithful translation are often little short of grotesque.

Those who use the text now offered for the purposes of philological investigation may be referred to an interesting essay by Dr. Johan Vising of Upsala, on the Anglo-Norman dialect of the 12th century. This includes remarks on the *Voyage de Brandan* and the poem of Gaimar, as well as a critical study of the language and versification of Fantosme;[1] but the present purely tentative state of this branch of philological science is illustrated by the fact noted above, that one of the three poets on whose works Dr. Vising founds his views as to the Anglo-Norman dialect was certainly a Poitevin by education, and not improbably a Poitevin by birth also.

With regard to the historical aspect of the poem it should be premised that, as the author lost his great master in 1171, there is nothing astonishing in finding him far away from Winchester, and appearing as an eye-witness of occurrences in the north in 1173 and 1174.

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[1] "Etude sur le dialecte Anglo-"Normand du xii^{e} siècle," par Johan Vising. Upsala, 1882. Esaias Edquist. The author, however, notes many points in which Fantosme's language differs from the dialect of the other writers. For a critical investigation of the metre, &c., readers may be referred to M. Rose's paper in Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, v. pp. 301–382.

He asserts that he saw many of the events he narrates, including the most important of all, the actual capture of William the Lion.[1]

> Il esteit sempres pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,
> A Randulf de Glanvile ù il puis se rendi.

On the other hand, as M. Michel well observes, Fantosme honestly states that he is unable to give details about the capture of Norwich, because he was not there.

The authenticity of the poem.

The authenticity of the work is placed beyond cavil by the evident fact that William of Newburgh saw and used it; but as to this matter the reader must be referred to the preface to vol. i., pp. xxvi and xxvii.

The poem abounds in minute details respecting the war in the north, which are not elsewhere recorded, and its contemporary character renders it an interesting piece of historical evidence respecting one of the most serious crises in the whole of our English annals.

A curious point, too, is the fact noticed by bishop Stubbs (Const. Hist. i. 538) that on line 288 is perhaps the first occurrence of the word Parliament as applied to a deliberative assembly.

The poem was edited by M. Francisque Michel for the Surtees Society in 1840, and was published in France by the same gentleman in 1844, for the French Government. It is included among the appendices to vol. iii. of the "*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*" in the "*Collection* "*de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*" for the date mentioned, pp. 531–613.

The translation made by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson will be found in the "Church Historians of England," vol. iv., part i.

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[1] The lines in which these references to his own personal presence, absence, knowledge, &c. occur are 895, 1145, 1155, 1159, 1775, and 1810.

RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

The chronicle of Richard of Devizes is one of the most amusing products of the middle ages. In it classical quotations, bombastic speeches, and keen gibes are mixed up with valuable historical facts relating to the period between the accession of Richard I. and the date of his quitting Palestine for his eventful voyage homewards.

The writer proclaims himself to be a monk of St. Swithun's, Winchester, and supplies his own name, "*Ricardus dictus Divisiensis*," in the mocking letter of dedication which he addresses to Robert, his former prior, who, quitting the Benedictine order, had betaken himself to the Carthusians of Witham.

Richard went, it appears, with two companions to visit the Chartreuse, seeking, as he satirically says, to see by how much the Witham house was nearer to heaven than were the Winchester cloisters; but he wished that he had travelled alone, for there was a falling out and seemingly a premature return, as there may well have been when so caustic a wit formed one of the party.

Richard remarks three things which his visit had taught him—that a Carthusian was at liberty to open his door and go out quite freely, so long as one of his feet remained within his cell; that wealthy and hospitable and charitable as Carthusians manifestly were, they gave their guests "*Benedicite sine præbenda*"; finally, that, though living apart and in silence, they were not only aware of what was happening in the outer world, but even knew what was going to happen. This, of course, was because such grave and reverend men had prophetic knowledge of the doings of the world, but could not narrate them as gossip.

Then the gibing Benedictine, professing that prior Robert had expressed a desire to see a copy of the chronicle, commends it to him in words of mockery which border upon blasphemy.[1]

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[1] O me felicem . . . . meminisse dignetur, p. 382.

Account of the MSS.

There is little doubt that the only two MSS. of the chronicle now existing are in the handwriting of its author, and it is almost certain that both belonged to the Winchester house. It is improbable that the work was multiplied much further, if at all,[1] for there are no traces of it in the great compilations of the 14th and subsequent centuries, which laid most of the well-known writers under contributions.[2]

So much depends upon the evidence of the two MSS. that they must be described at once.

The one on which the present edition is founded is No. 339 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This is quoted as "P." The second copy is Cott. MS. Domit. A. XIII., which is referred to as "C." Both are quarto volumes[3] and each contains a "Brut" chronicle, immediately followed by the chronicle of Richard I. here printed. The four treatises,—that is the two Richardian chronicles, the whole of one set of annals, and the other set as far as 1202—are obviously in the handwriting of one man. This assertion may perhaps be accepted on the joint testimony of Mr. Stevenson,[4] Mr. Luard,[5] and the present editor.

If then the Corpus MS. of the chronicle of Richard I. should prove to be the author's autograph it follows that, to the extent stated above, the four treatises are in the handwriting of Richard of Devizes, and we may unreservedly assert that there is no sign which marks an autograph that is absent from the MS. in question.

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[1] There is a note in a 16th cent. hand in Bodl. MS. Laud 730, which Mr. Stevenson believes to refer to a third copy: "Hic multa desunt ab "hoc anno 1272 usque ad annum "1327, et hoc totum habetur in "veteri libro ligato cum Richardo "Divisiensi."

[2] For the use made of the Winchester Annals (Cottonian) see Dr. Liebermann's *Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 173–202. As to Bodleian MS. Digby 11, which however contains *no trace* of the Richardian chronicle, see page lxx. note 1.

[3] [MS. P.] Length of page $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, width $6\frac{3}{4}$, width of margin $2\frac{1}{2}$. About 31 lines to the body of each page. The handwriting accords well with the probable date, 1192–1202. The chronicle of Richard I. occupies *fo.* 25 *a.* to *fo.* 43 *b.*, both inclusive.

[MS. C.] Length of page $7\frac{7}{8}$, width $5\frac{3}{4}$, width of margin $1\frac{7}{8}$. About 35 lines to the body of the page. Handwriting the same as that of [P.]. Chronicle extends from *fo.* 70*a.* to *fo.* 87*a.*, both inclusive.

[4] Engl. Hist. Soc. ed., p. vii. Less definitely than Mr. Luard.

[5] *Annal. de Wintonia*, preface, p. xi.

The Corpus MS. probably the author's draft.

The principal indications are these:—

(1.) Many long passages are written on erasures, *e.g.* the passage on p. 381 from *In qualibet* to *antequam fiant.* In this and other cases the new matter exceeds the old by so much that the residue overflows into the margin. Elsewhere gaps occur through the retractation of sentences.

(2.) Interlineations and minor erasures[1] abound.

(3.) Spaces are left for expressions not yet found to the author's taste. Some of these are filled up in darker ink, others still remain blank.

(4.) There are many variations in the tone of the ink, and many defects in the handwriting, caused by carelessness at one time or haste at another.

(5.) There is one passage, see p. 448, note 1, which seems to have been progressing quite satisfactorily, but yet was not to the author's liking. In lieu of using the knife, as he usually did, he struck this one through with his pen and took up the sentence afresh.

(6.) Alterations of single words are frequent.

(7.) Half a page has been roughly erased in one place, but in making his fair copy (now the Cottonian MS.) the writer has added in the margin the words "*hic abrasum erat quicquid illud esset,*" playfully pretending that he does not know what had been written.

(8.) In making the fair copy he alters some incomplete or erroneous sentences, putting in the word *dilaniarem*, for instance, on p. 439, and correcting "*centum marcas Parisiacensium*" on p. 426 to "*centum millia Parisiacensium.*"

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[1] The erasures are so numerous that only the more important of them have been referred to in the notes.

(9.) The celebrated allusion to the early frailties of queen Eleanor is presented in the margin of the MS. in a whimsical style, which can only be imperfectly shown by means of type :—

(Multi noveȓt quod utinam)
(nemo nostrum nosset)
[Et (ħ ipsa regina tēpe)
[ego (p^{i}oris mariti fuit)
[bene (Ierosolimis.)
[novi. (nemo plus)
[Silete (īde loq^{a}t^{r})

Additional arguments will be drawn by every reader from what follows as to Richard's other work, but it may perhaps be assumed from what has been summarised above, that our MSS. present an author's draft and an author's own fair copy.

Richard of Devizes probably the author of the *Annales de Wintonia.*

We have said that in each MS. there is a " Brut " chronicle. The one in the Corpus MS. is defective [1]—ending with the reign of Stephen. That in the Cottonian MS. is complete and is, we may now perhaps say, in Richard's handwriting as far as the year 1202. The latter has been published by Mr. Luard as the *Annales de Wintonia,* and that gentleman not only remarks that these annals up to 1066 are interspersed with quotations from Richard's favourite classical authors, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, but adds (with regard to the Annals in the Corpus copy, which are identical with the Cottonian as far as 1066) " I cannot therefore think that any " more probable author for the chronicle can be found." [2]

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[1] Possibly through loss of leaves. An ancient transcript of part of it will be found in a Bodleian MS. (Digby 11). On *fo.* 169 of this MS., for example, will be seen the following :—

Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis jam secundus rex, mandavit quibuslibet magnatibus regni ut ad regem venirent et homagium facerent aut de regno exirent.

In Corpus MS. 339, on *fo.* 24 *b.*, we have :

Henricus episcopus, jam secundus rex, mandavit quibuslibet magnatibus regni ut ad regem venirent et homagium facerent aut regnum exirent.

[2] *Ann. de Winton.*, pref., p. xii.

Mr. Luard might perhaps have gone a step further as to the relationship of the two, and might even have said that they represent successive editions, for there are many traces of relationship. The following sentence, for example, as to Stephen, taken from the last page of the Corpus Annals, is obviously the original of the passage from the Cottonian *Annales de Wintonia* with which it is here contrasted:—

(*Corpus MS.*)

Con*venerunt* omnes ad regem *et contra conscientias* se *illi* summiserunt.

(*Cottonian MS.*)

Venerunt magnates *et contra conscientias* suas *illi* fecerunt homagia.

Indeed the epitaph on the bishop of Bath, on p. 422 of the present volume, when compared with the following irreverent joke from the *Annales*,[1] affords us an excellent substitute for Richard's signature :—

Hoc anno obiit Johannes cardinalis. Quo mortuo audierunt nautæ sub Ethna vocem dicentem "Accendite focum."

The chronicle in the Corpus MS. is, as has been said, identical with the *Annales de Wintonia* as far as 1066; but from that point we may now say that Richard has used, but diverged from, his earlier composition. This older work has in the margin, in the author's handwriting, a dedication which has been mutilated by the careless binder who has cut away so much from the chronicle of Richard I. Enough remains, however, to warrant us in attempting a conjectural completion :—

[M]agistro Ade suus de [votus]:
Meo malo mirum mu[tatis]
temporibus accidit ut etiam fi[gmenta]
placeant sapientibus.[2]

The tone of this is truly that of Richard of Devizes, and the alliteration "*meo malo mirum mutatis*" seems to come naturally from the hand of the man who elsewhere writes "*vitio vicerat, visceribus vesceretur.*"[1]

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[1] *Annal. de Winton.*, p. 55.

[2] Opposite this passage is the date 1201.

These considerations not only have an interest of their own, but they enable us to say that our author lived as late as the year 1202.

He composed the Richardian chronicle before 1198, for in it, p. 403, he speaks of Walter prior of Bath, who died in that year, as a living man. Indeed he probably finished writing about 1193, for the passage on p. 450 as to the emperor of Germany and the duke of Austria seems to have been written by a man who knew later events, but would not narrate them out of their due order.

Perhaps the best introduction to Richard as a writer may be found in his ludicrous account of the alleged crucifixion of a boy by the Winchester Jews. Obviously he does not believe the story, and he makes his Jew quote Horace and Ovid as glibly as Longchamp, who, in another part of the work, hurls defiance at his tormentors in a speech made up of passages from Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and Lucan.

Care and discrimination are necessary in using this chronicle. We must beware of the author's excuses for the king, and we must perhaps set aside all the speeches —and there are many—as pure fiction. At least we must reject Saphadin's ornate oration in which he, too, demonstrates his acquaintance with Lucan, though it is of course far less improbable that the bishop of Ely preluded a reply to his accusers with the well-known line, "Semper ego auditor tantum ? nunquamne reponam ?"

In the narrative we must be on our guard against satire disguised as fact, and against strong insular and monastic prejudices, but, when these are allowed for, we shall find that the remainder is valuable history, supplying details nowhere else to be found respecting the condition of parties in England during Cœur-de-Lion's absence.

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[1] p. 440, and "*si Parcæ parcerent, pro pallio profecturus,*" p. 421.

There are a few errors, such as the one noted on p. 408, but the writer is no falsifier, and from the numerous passages in which his work runs parallel with Benedict of Peterborough we gain great confidence in his honesty.

Apart from his frequent quotations from the classics, some of which are marked in the present edition, there are few traces of borrowing from other authors. On p. 412 [1] we have a word or two which seem to be from some document which also gave Benedict of Peterborough his account of archbishop Geoffrey's ill-treatment, and in Richard's crusading news we see that in common with Newburgh and the second continuator of Florence of Worcester he has derived the puerility as to a truce for "3 years, 3 months, 3 weeks, 3 days, and 3 hours" from some letter which circulated through England.

Use made by Richard of Devizes of the poem of Ambroise, king Richard's chaplain.

On reading many portions of our chronicle with the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, we shall be struck with far-off resemblances. Words, but not phrases, agree in passages which treat of the same subject, and, though the accounts often differ, they frequently approach each other closely. The forms of some Oriental names, too, such as *Carracois*, *Mestocus*, and *Saphadinus* agree. Precise assertions cannot be made at present; but examination of a complete text of the poem of king Richard's chaplain, Ambroise, which exists in the Vatican Library [2] (MS. Christina, 1659) and is now recognised as indubitably the French original of the *Itinerarium*, would bring out curious results, for there are passages in the work of Richard of Devizes which are obviously nothing but free renderings of the French text into Latin.[3]

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[1] See note 2.

[2] Long extracts from this poem may be seen in Pertz, xxvii. pp. 533–546.

[3] See, for instance, lines 1154–5 quoted in note 4 on p. 404. It is practically certain that William of Newburgh used this poem.

The marginal paragraphs in the MSS.

We may, perhaps, recur to the MSS. so far as to say that large portions of the narrative, more in P. than in C., are given in wide margins obviously left for the purpose.

No marks are supplied (save in one or two cases) to show where these passages fit in, and therefore it is not easy to place them suitably in consecutive order. All have, however, been lettered α, β, γ, &c., in the margins of the present edition, and the points opposite which they begin in the Corpus MS. are correspondingly marked "at α.," "at β.," &c. Except in two cases,[1] Mr. Stevenson's arrangement of these paragraphs has been followed.

Editions.

The chronicle of Richard I. was edited for the English Historical Society in 1838 by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and the same gentleman published a translation of the work, in 1858, in vol. v., part i., of the "Church Historians of England." Another translation has been published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

It only remains for me to offer my best thanks, either for kindness in facilitating my access to MSS. or for direct literary assistance, to the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Dr. F. Liebermann of Berlin, the Rev. F. R. Maddison of Lincoln, Canon James Raine of York, Mr. C. T. Martin, and Mr. Walter Rye. To Miss L. Toulmin-Smith and to Miss M. A. Howlett, I am specially indebted for much assistance in translating Jordan Fantosme's poem.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

London,
31st August, 1886.

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[1] See p. 392, note 1, and p. 416, note 2.

CORRECTIONS.

p. 65, marginal note, *for* "Cornwall" *read* "Gloucester."

p. 132, marginal note and note 3, *for* "an earl" *read* "*consul*."

p. 172, note 3, *for* "*contin.*" *read* "*Contin.*"

p. 202, line 5, *for* "a" *read* "à."

„ line 12, *for* "tenant-salve" *read* "tenant—salve."

p. 205, substitute a full stop for the comma at the end of line 23.

p. 231, note 2, *for* "desamrez" *read* "desarmez."

p. 259, note 1, last line but two, *erase* "tense."

LIBER PRIMUS.

GESTA STEPHANI,
REGIS ANGLORUM
ET DUCIS NORMANNORUM.

A.D. 1135.

State of England after the death of Henry I.

Cum rex Henricus, pax patriæ gentisque suæ pater, ad extrema deveniens morti debitum exsolvisset, luctuosum infortunium universam regionis faciem turbidam reddidit et omnino confusam.[1] Ubi namque, eo regnante, judicii caput, juris inerat domicilium; ibi, eodem ruente, iniquitatis copia, totiusque malitiæ succrevit seminarium. Anglia siquidem, justitiæ prius sedes, pacis habitaculum, pietatis apex, religionis speculum, perversitatis postea locus, dissensionis recessus, inquietudinis disciplina, omnisque rebellii effecta est magistra. Rupta protinus in populo veneranda sanctæ amicitiæ fœdera; dissoluta mutuæ cognationis conjunctissima vincula; quosque diutinæ tranquillitatis vestierat toga, illos bellicus stridor, Mavortius furor invasit. Novo enim quisque sæviendi raptus amore, in alterum crudele debacchari, tantoque sese gloriosiorem æstimare, quanto in innocentes nocentius insurgebat.

Outburst of lawless violence.

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[1] A marked peculiarity of this chronicle is the almost total omission of dates. The author's care in maintaining chronological sequence is most praiseworthy; but it does not atone for the want of precise figures. The dates now placed in the margins are chiefly derived from the continuation of Florence of Worcester (quoted as *C. Fl. Wigorn.*), Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, Richard and John of Hexham, Gervase of Canterbury, Robert of Torigni, the Tewkesbury and Waverley Annals, and the small chronicles collected by Dr. Liebermann.

A.D. 1135. Legis quoque institutis, quibus indisciplinatus coercetur populus, ex toto neglectis, immo et adnullatis, ad omne illicitum effrenati, quidquid flagitii menti[1] occurrebat, promptissime peragebant. Ut enim verbis propheticis utar, "a planta pedis usque ad verticem Isa. i. 6. "non erat in eis sanitas:" quia a minimis usque ad summos, animæ morbo ægrescentes, vel raptum committebant, vel raptui aliis assentiendo parebant. Feræ quoque, quæ in tota prius regione, tanquam in indagine reclusæ, cum summa pace reservabantur, nunc quaquaversum turbari, a quolibet passim dispergi, ab omnibus, abjecto metu, prosterni. Et hæc quidem minor, nec multum conquerenda[2] jactura, sed admodum tamen stupenda, quomodo tanta ferarum millia, quæ antea copioso grege universam terram affluenter inundarant, tam repente fuerint adnullata, ut de tam innumero examine vix duas postmodum simul reperires. Ubi tandem cœpit grandis hæc et indicibilis copia adeo extenuari, ut "rarissima," ut aiunt, "avis" esset vel unam ubivis locorum feram conspicari, in seipsos truculenter conversi alios[3] spoliare; res possessas sibi vicissim diripere; insidias et necem alterutrim moliri; utque per prophetam dicitur, "vir Isa. xix. "immisericorditer in virum, unusquisque irruere in "proximum suum." Quicquid enim sceleris ira urgente sub pace dictabatur, nunc, vindictæ arrepto tempore, ad effectum quam celeriter deducebatur: quia odiosa simultas sese publice retegens, quicquid occulte secum palliarat in lucem nunc proferens aperte declarabat.

Destruction of game.

Stephen of Boulogne lands in England.

Interea dum se Anglenses ita turbulenter, ita et calamitose continerent, laxatisque justitiæ frænis ad omne nefas libere prorumperent, Stephanus Bulonicensis comes, vir præclara nobilitatus prosapia, Angliam

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[1] *mente*, Duchesne's edition. This will henceforward be referred to as D.

[2] *conquirenda*, D.

[3] *alius*, D.

A.D. 1135.

Character of Stephen.

He marches to London, and is chosen king.

cum paucis applicuit. Erat enim idem vir pacifico regi Henrico omnium nepotum solus carissimus; eo quod non solum ei germana contribulis lineæ consanguinitate conjunctus, sed multimodo esset virtutum coruscamine præcipue insignitus. Fuit siquidem, quod in nostri temporis divitibus constat esse rarissimum, dives et humilis, munificus et affabilis; sed et in omni militari congressione, sive in hostium qualibet obsidione, audax et fortis, discretus et longanimis. Hic itaque tantus, cum primum regem Henricum extremum exhalasse spiritum, fama intimante, percepisset, magnum quoddam, de more illius Saulis, in corde concipiens, cum transmarinis inesset partibus, ad littus tetendit, nactoque fortuitu flatu secundo, animum cum navi penes Angliam direxit.[1] Cumque jam, uti præmissum est, cum paucissimo comitatu applicuisset, ad ipsam totius regionis reginam, metropolim, maturato itinere, Lundonias devenit. Concussa protinus in adventu viri civitas illa, cum læto strepitu obviam ei occurrit: quæque lugendum tutoris sui Henrici occasum mœstuose lugebat, tanquam eum in Stephano recuperasset, lætanter et festive tripudiabat. Majores igitur natu, consultuque quique provectiores, concilium coegere, deque regni statu, pro arbitrio suo, utilia in commune providentes, ad regem eligendum unanimiter conspiravere. Dicebant enim omne regnum sinistræ fortunæ casibus subjacere, ubi ipsa totius regiminis præsentia, justitiæque caput[2] defuerit. Idcirco operæ pretium eis esse regem quam mature constituere, qui ad communis utilitatis pacem reformandam, et rebellibus regni armatus occurreret, et legum instituta juste disponeret. Id quoque sui esse juris, suique specialiter

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[1] He sailed from Witsand, heralded by a thunderstorm. The people of Dover repulsed him, and the inhabitants of Canterbury shut their gates against him. W. Malmesb., 703; Gerv., i. 94.

[2] *ubi ipsa totius regiminis justitiæque caput præsentia*, D., probably through neglect of marks of transposition.

A.D. 1135.

Arguments which conduced to his election.

The citizens of London swear to maintain his cause.

privilegii, ut si rex ipsorum quoquomodo obiret, alius suo provisu in regnum[1] substituendus e vestigio succederet. Nec alium sese in manu habere, qui regis vices adimplens tantis regni periculis finem imponeret, quam Stephanum illum, divino, ut sibi videbatur, nutu inter eos adductum: qui ad hoc idoneus, tam generis dignitate quam animi probitate, omnibus apparebat. His igitur auditis, et ab omnibus gratiose, nulloque aperte contradicente, receptis, de regno eum suscipiendo in commune consultum conscivere, regemque, omnium ad hoc concordante favore, constituere; firmata prius utrimque pactione, peractoque, ut vulgus asserebat, mutuo juramento, ut eum cives quoad viveret opibus sustentarent, viribus tutarentur; ipse autem ad regnum pacificandum ad omnium eorumdem suffragium, toto sese conatu accingeret.

Stephen at once secures the peace of the kingdom.

King Henry's janitor, leader of a robber band, is hung.

Stephen is joined by his brother the legate;

Stephanus itaque, tam fortunato eventu, et regis nomen et regni apicem assecutus, ad pacem in regno conciliandam sese viriliter armavit; ipsisque prædonibus, qui circumjacentem graviter depopularant provinciam, fortiter occurrens, insignem mox in regni sui primordio promeruit titulum. Erat namque eo in tempore vir quidam, etsi dignitatis exiguæ, utpote regis Henrici januarum conclusor, ad nocendum tamen præcipue paratus, et ad violentiam pauperibus inferendam avidissimus. Hic etenim cum indiscreto, tam rusticorum quam stipendiariorum militum, agmine vicinos suos circumquaque molestans, nunc deprædatione insatiabili, nunc igne et gladio omnibus se intolerabilem exhibebat. Huic tandem Stephanus obviam intrepide occurrens, commanipulares ejus nonnullos victoriose captos vel vita privavit, vel vinculis mancipavit: ipsumque eorumdem ducem cum aliis concludens, cruciariæ stipiti postremo affixit. Deinde valida militum manu, qui undecumque confluxerant, repentino[2] collecta, ad Henricum episcopum, in quo totius annisus sui summa dependebat, festinato tetendit. Erat enim vir ille ex

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[1] *regno*, D.

[2] *repentive*, D.

A.D. 1135.

ambobus genitoribus frater ei progenitus, vir sicut prudentia mirabilis, ita et eloquentia ineffabilis; qui et, dextera sibi ad votum arridente fortuna, abbas Glastoniæ, præsul Wintoniæ, totiusque Angliæ legatus fuit ab Apostolica Sede in regno inthronizatus. Iste igitur de prospero germani sui successu eximie lætatus, cum dignioribus Wintoniæ civibus obvius ei advenit, habitoque in communi brevi colloquio, in civitatem, secundam duntaxat regni sedem, [eum] honorifice induxit.

is received honourably at Winchester;

Fuit eodem in tempore in civitate Wintoniensi Willelmus[1] quidam, fidissimus thesaurorum regis Henrici custos et resignator, qui sæpius ab episcopo precibus obstrictus, mercede fuit permulsus, ut castellum sibi traderet, thesauros aperiret. Sed quanto ille ad petendum intensior, tanto iste ad inficiandum habebatur proclivior. Ceterum, ubi regem adventasse cognovit, nescio utrum timore an amore illius permotus, ejus se occursui gratanter obtulit, ipsumque ditissimum regis Henrici ærarium, quod tota ex antiquissimis regibus Anglia copiose referserat, ejus deliberationi cum castello contradidit. Nova proinde per regnum de novi regis adventu fama præconante, quamplures eum, et illi præcipue, qui ante regni susceptionem se illi vel fratribus suis amicitia devinxerant, grate et hilariter recipientes, ad nutum illi cum omni conatu obsecundabant. Affuit et inter alios Willelmus Cantuariæ archipræsul, vir vultu columbinus, habituque vere religiosus; sed pecuniarum adquisitarum possessor avidior quam erogator[2] [profusior]. Cum enim de communi vita moriens tandem secessisset, infinitam æris copiam in repositoriis suis occulte reconditam regis administratorii repererunt: quam si in eleemosynarum largitione vivens distribuisset, imitans evangelicum hominem, qui de Mamona iniquitatis sibi amicos efficiens, ideo dispersit et dedit pauperibus, ut justitia illius in æternum

and gets possession of the treasures of Henry I.

Stephen is joined by the nobility, and by William archbishop of Canterbury.

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[1] William Pont de l'Arche, *W. Malmesb.*, 703.

[2] *erogatior*, D., perhaps erring thus: *erogat[or profus]ior.*

A.D. 1135. maneret, perfectum pastorem perfectius adimpleret.

The archbishop hesitates to crown Stephen.

Qui cum regis fautores obnixe persuaderent quatinus eum ad regnandum inungeret, quodque imperfectum videbatur administrationis suæ officio suppleret, rationabili eis responso obviavit: asserens non id leviter aut subito fieri debere, sed et discretionis prius ventilabro sollicite discutiendum, et callido omnium consilio utrum fieri deberet sapientissime investigandum. "Sicut enim," inquit, "rex ad hoc eligitur, ut omnes "regat, electusque imperii sui jura omnibus injungat; "sic profecto, sic congruit, ut ad eum in regno con"firmandum omnes pariter convolent, parique consensu "quid statuendum, quidve respuendum sit, ab omni"bus provideatur." Adjecit et regem Henricum, cum adviveret, primos totius regni arctissimo constrinxisse jurejurando, ne quem post illius discessum, nisi aut filiam, quam comiti Andegavensi maritarat, aut illius, si superfuisset, hæredem, in regno susciperent: ideoque præsumptuosum esse quippiam huic statuto adversum velle moliri: maxime cum et filia ejus superstes esset, et hæredum gratia non privaretur.

Arguments of the friends of Stephen.

Ad hæc regis suffraganei constanter responderunt, "Verum," inquiunt, "nec abnegandum, regem Henricum callidæ "intentionis proposito filiam despondisse, quatinus "inter Normannos et Andegavenses, qui se sæpius "dissidendo turbarant, firmius et stabilius pacem con"ciliaret. Ad ipsam quoque hæredandam imperioso "illo, cui nullus obsistebat, oris tonitruo summos "totius regni jurare compulit potius quam præcepit. "Et quanquam eosdem invite jurare, juramentumque "haud ratum fore prænosceret, voluit tamen, more "Ezechielis, in diebus suis pacem reformare, perque "unius mulieris conjugium multa hominum millia ad "concordiæ adsciscere glutinum. Utque patenter ag"nosceremus, quod ei in vita certa de causa compla"cuit, post mortem ut fixum foret displicuisse, supremo "eum agitante mortis articulo, cum et plurimi asta-

A.D. 1135.

Statement that Henry openly repented of extorting oaths of fealty to Maud.

"rent, et veram suorum erratuum confessionem audirent, de jurejurando violenter baronibus suis injuncto apertissime pœnituit.[1] Unde, quia constat omne jusjurandum a quolibet cum violentia extortum ipsam perjurii efficaciam penitus amisisse, sanum est præcipueque acceptandum, eum ad regnandum læte suscipere, quem et summum totius regni caput sine repulsu Londonia suscepit, et [qui] ad hoc, justo germanæ propinquitatis jure, idoneus accessit. Spe quoque firma certificamur, si virum suscipientes omni illum annisu juverimus, regno maxime profuturum: quia cum ab omnibus modo diripitur, distrahitur, et conculcatur, in ipso protinus tanti infortunii exordio constat per virum constantem et militarem idem in melius posse reformari, qui et suorum potentia et fratrum sapientium gloria sublimatus, quicquid sibi deesse putabitur, eorum adminiculo suffultus perfectius adimplebit."

Coronation of Stephen.

Talibus itaque sed et aliis nonnullis ratiociniis, quæ breviandi causa prætereo, impulsus archiepiscopus, regem eum in Angliam et Normanniam, cum episcopis frequentique, qui intererat, clericatu, sacravit et inunxit.[2] Quibus tandem cognitis, celebrique sermone per Angliam divulgatis, omnes fere primi totius regni læte eum et veneranter recepere, plurimisque ab eo muneribus donati, sed et terris amplificati, liberali cum jurejurando, præmisso hominio, ejus sese servitio ex toto manciparunt.

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[1] Gervase, i. 94, says that a great noble swore that he heard Henry release his subjects from the oath. Hugh Bigod was the man.

[2] William of Malmesbury says that he was crowned king of England on 22 Dec. 1135, there being present only three bishops, *i.e.*, the archbishop, the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, no abbot, and a very few nobles, twenty-two days after the death of his uncle. The *Chron. de Bello* gives the same date. Other writers state that Stephen's coronation took place on the 26th of December. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says on Midwinter Day.

A.D. 1136.

Robert earl of Gloucester joins the king (after March 22).

Affuit et inter alios Robertus[1] comes Glaorniæ, filius regis Henrici, sed nothus, vir probati ingenii, laudabilisque prudentiæ. Qui cum de regni susceptione, patre defuncto, ut fama erat, admoneretur, saniori præventus consilio nullatenus adquievit; dicens æquius esse filio sororis suæ, cui justius competebat, regnum cedere, quam præsumptive sibi usurpare. Hic itaque cum regiis mandatis et scriptis sæpius ad se venire commonitus tandem affuisset, gratiose et excellenter susceptus, quæcumque postulavit, exhibito regi hominio, fuit ad votum assecutus; ipsoque postremo pacificato, totum pæne Angliæ regnum fuit regem secutum.[2]

Stephen makes a royal progress through England.

Rex igitur copioso militum stipatus agmine, splendide, sicut regalem decet honorificentiam, per Angliam procedere;[3] se suo regimini inclinantes benigne et veneranter suscipere; in omnibus utriusque ordinis ecclesiis, urbibus etiam et castellis, cum festiva[4] occursione recipi; ad omnes se pro necessariis expetentes humiliter et mansuete inflecti; pro pace in regno revocanda plurimum adniti; pro concordia inter subjectos restauranda non minimum largiri; nec solum ad Angliam, immo et ad Waloniam pacificandam multum sudoris, multum et pecuniarum impendere.

Description of Wales.

Est autem Walonia terra silvestris et pascuosa, ipsi Angliæ proxima vicinitate contermina, ex uno ejusdem latere in longum juxta mare protensa, cervorum quidem et piscium, lactis et armentorum uberrima; sed hominum nutrix bestialium, natura velocium, consuetudine bellantium, fide semper et locis instabilium. Postquam autem Normanni, bello commisso,

Character of the Welsh people.

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[1] He came after Easter (March 22), W. of Malmesb., 705.

[2] *secutus*, D.

[3] His itinerary seems to have been Reading (W. of M., 705; Hunt., 258); Oxford (Hunt., 258); Durham, Feb. 4 or 5 (R. Hex.; W. of M., 705; Hunt., 259); York (R. Hexham, and charter in Monasticon, v., p. 372); London, March 22 (R. Hex.; Hunt., 259); Oxford, after Easter (W. of M., 707; R. Hex.).

[4] *festina*, D.

A.D. 1136.

Anglos sibi subjugarunt, hanc etiam suo imperio terram adjacentem castellis innumeris annexuere;[1] propriis incolis viriliter edomitis, constanter excoluere; ad pacem confovendam, legem et plebiscita eis indixere; adeoque terram fertilem omnibusque copiis affluentem reddidere, ut fœcundissimæ Britanniæ nequaquam inferiorem æstimares. Verum, rege Henrico mortuo, pace quoque regni et concordia cum ipso sepulta, in dominos suos Walenses mortale semper odium spirantes, fœdus quod eis pepigerant penitus abruperunt; e diversisque turmatim emergentes locis, nunc huc nunc illuc hostiliter discurrerunt; deprædatione, igne, gladio villas evacuarunt, domos consumpserunt, homines necaverunt.[2] Et primum quidem in maritimam provinciam, quæ vocatur Gver, delectabilem admodum omnique fertilitate redundantem promoverunt exercitum, militesque cum pedestri agmine usque ad quingentos et sexdecim,[3] in unum contra eos cuneum conglobatos, undique circumvenientes, in ore gladii penitus prostraverunt. Deinde de primo dissensionis suæ eventu prospere peracto apprime collætantes, per omnes se Waloniæ fines audacter effuderunt; ad omne quoque facinus proni, ad omne illicitum perfaciles, non cuivis ætati parcere, non ordini cuipiam reverentiam exhibere, non tempore aut loco sceleris immunes existere. Hæc autem rebellii semina ad aures regis fama deferente, effrenam illorum temeritatem cohibere attentans, milites et sagittarios, plurima thesauri sui stipe conductos, ad eos edomandos transmisit. Sed alii, multis egregie perpetratis, ibi occisi, alii ferocem hostium non ferentes occursionem, post multa exercitia et impensas, inglorii recesserunt.

Disturbances in Wales on the death of Henry I.

Defeat of the Normans by the Welsh in the district of Gower (1 Jan. 1136).

The king's troops fail to quell the insurrection.

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[1] *annuere*, D.

[2] The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 97, confirms this and gives dates.

[3] The *C. Fl. Wigorn.* gives these figures, but as the total of those slain on both sides. An exact agreement as to numbers in early chronicles is so unusual as to leave suspicions as to a common source of information.

A.D. 1136.

Summary of Welsh affairs.

Richard Fitz-Gilbert is slain by the Welsh (April 15).

Fuit eodem in tempore Ricardus filius Gisleberti[1] in Walonia, vir sincera generositate insignis, cognatis et hominibus fultus ditissimis, terris et castellis heredatus innumeris, qui omnes affines suos fide habens confœderatos, obsidibus vero obstrictos, pacis eam multimodæque fœcunditatis adeo reddidit affluentem, ut secunda esse Anglia perfacile crederetur. Iste igitur, cum magna quædam regem postulasset, nec ad votum impetrasset, bellum, ut aiebant, adversus eum promoturus abscessit, Waloniamque cum ingenti comitatu repedans, insidiis ab ipsis Walensibus positis circumventus est, et inter omnes suos miserabiliter solus occisus. Quod cum latius divulgatum esset, summum videlicet Walensium primatem succubuisse, ex diversis provinciis in immensum se coadunantes exercitum terram illius ingressi, in tres se terribiles turmas ordinate et bellicose diviserunt, ipsosque Ricardi milites, sed et alios nonnullos, qui usque ad tria millia cum peditum agmine ex vicinis urbibus et castellis ad auxilium eorum convenerant, ex tribus partibus perlustrantes in fugam miserunt,[2] eosque cum clamore sagittarumque emissione viriliter et animose insequentes, alios miserandis modis occiderunt, alios in flumine violenter impulsos enecuerunt, nonnullos domibus et templis ignibus impositis cremandos tradiderunt, totamque provinciam, quæ usque ad xxxvi. miliaria distenditur, prædando pervagantes, nihil residui in ea reliquerunt; senes aut neci aut ludibriis exposuerunt; juvenes utriusque sexus vinculis et captivitati addixerunt; feminas cujusvis ætatis publico incestui impudenter dederunt. Deinde baronum castella alia effringentes, alia stricta obsidione cingentes, quibus paulo ante flexa cervice subjiciebantur, eorum

The Welsh make an inroad on his lands.

Defeat of the Normans (in October ?).

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[1] Son of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford.

[2] This may perhaps be identified with the battle at Cardigan, "*mense* "*Octobri, hebdomada secunda*," for the river (Teify) is referred to in each case, *C. Flor. Wigorn.*, p. 97. See *Annal. Cambr.* (Rolls Series), p. 40.

A.D. 1136?

The Welsh besiege Fitz-Gilbert's wife in her castle.

nunc versa vice rigide dominabantur. Fuit ipsius Ricardi quoddam castellum obsessum, inexpugnabili munitione vallatum, in quo uxor ejus, soror comitis Cestriæ, clausa delitebat, quæ multimodo cruciatu anxia torquebatur, quia viri solatio carens, feminea desperatione frangebatur, escarum immunis, ambientibus eam cum plurimo suo collegio inimicis, strictissime includebatur, totius ad se refugii supervenientis exspes, tristitia et mærore atterebatur. Cumque illic, proximis ad eam pertingere non valentibus, diutissime demoraretur, Milo quidam, civitati Glaucensium præsidens, qui et postea,[1] callido magis prudentis animi ingenio quam ex generis successione, ad consulatus apicem conscendit, ad eam liberandam tum pro compassiva, quam de ingenua habuit muliere, pietate, tum pro regis imperio, qui hoc ei litteris delegatis injunxerat, se et suos dedit periculo, interque medios hostes, per opaca nemorum lustra, per montium prominentia capita, ad castellum fortiter ivit, eamque cum suis sane reducens, victoriose et cum gloria redivit.

Milo of Gloucester goes to her rescue.

Audiens autem rex et in hac patria Walenses ad discordiam excitandam convaluisse, proposuit et adhuc temerariæ illorum obsistere præsumptioni, ascitoque Baldvino, memorati Ricardi germano, inæstimabilem ei pecuniarum committens copiam, præcepit quatinus fratris terræ impigre subveniret, et ad adversarios retundendos se constanter accingeret. Ille autem, acceptis pecuniis, expeditos ad comitatum suum milites, sed et virilis pectoris arcitenentes usque ad quingentos conducens, usque ad castellum Brecheneo cum omni apparatu devenit, ibique audiens adversarios cum innumerabili multitudine ei occurrisse; vias, prostratis ex transverso arboribus, obstruxisse; omnesque vesaniæ complices ad suffragium suum e diverso convocasse, timore concussus cœptum iter repressit, ibidemque multo tempore demorans, dum hostes per

Stephen sends Richard Fitz-Gilbert's brother to put down the insurrection.

His disgraceful retreat.

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[1] *pro ea*, D.

A.D. 1136? hoc aut tædio afficere, aut fame deficere arbitratur, ventri tantum et otio indulsit, prodigeque quæ secum detulerat consumptis, indigens et honoris vacuus ad propria remeavit.

Robert Fitz-Harold sent to reduce the Welsh.

Robertus quoque filius Heraldi, vir stemmatis ingenuissimi, fuit ad Walenses subjugandos sed aliorsum destinatus, ibique gloriose multotiens adquisito de inimicis triumpho, castellum inter eos, quod tunc pæne fuerat inhabitatum, inexpugnabiliter firmavit, hominibusque in eo ad omnem sortem paratis diligenter expositis, post multa laudabiliter expleta, ad Angliam pro viribus reparandis cum paucis divertit. Hostes autem de absentia illius non minimum alacres, reditumque suum e proximo formidantes, in unum se globum repente collegerunt, ejusque castellum diutissima obsidione vallantes, cum nec inhabitantibus alimenta adessent, nec Rodbertus propter intolerabilem eorum impetum ad subveniendum tam præsto sufficeret, redditum sibi tandem subruerunt. Walensibus igitur his terram modis turbantibus, videbatur regi frustra niti, frustra et thesauri sui immensitatem ad eos pacificandos effundere; ideoque commodiori monitus consilio, maluit effrenam illorum aliquantisper pati diffidentiam, quatinus, armis cessantibus, discordiaque commune inter eos dissidium operante, aut fame afficerentur, aut in seipsos conversi, mutua cæde consumerentur.[1] Et quidem id in brevi contigisse vidimus. Cædibus namque et prædæ incessanter vacantes, terram omnem vomeris ignaram, hominum autem vacuam adeo reliquerunt, ut nulla penitus spes vitæ sequentis in posterum relinqueretur, sed tabe et inedia defecti, post mortem animalium quæ prædam illorum persecuta est, et ipsi corrupto ex cadaverum tabefactione aere permixtim moriebantur. Hæc vero, quæ diversis in Walonia contigere temporibus, in uno ordine redigentes paucis perstrinximus, ne totiens a

He repairs and garrisons a fortress,

which is soon afterwards taken by the Welsh.

Stephen determines to leave them to themselves.

Their sufferings by famine and pestilence.

These things happened at different times, but are narrated to-

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[1] *consummarentur*, D.

A.D. 1136.

cœpto tractandi limite esset aberrandum, quotiens aliquid insigniter gestum suo esset in loco competentius deflorandum.

gether for convenience.

Peaceful and benevolent measures of Stephen. His uprightness and justice, piety and affability.

Rex igitur ad regnum tranquillandum, ad pacem componendam, uti superius prolatum est, impiger existere; omnibus facilem se et accommodum exhibere; exheredatos in propria reducere; in distribuendis ecclesiarum honoribus vitii simoniaci expers omnino esse; in causis tractandis, in hominibus jure testandis, nihil impulsu muneris, nihil gratia mercedis perficere; omnibus nihilominus cuipiam religioni addictis cum humili se reverentia inclinare; omnibus cujuslibet ætatis habilem se et flexibilem reddere. Tam benigni etiam, tamque mansueti erat animi, ut regiæ fere dignitatis oblitus in multis negotiis non se suis prælatum, sed omnimodis parem quandoque etiam inferiorem videret. Jamjamque ad consuetam pacem, ad solitam se Anglia quietem paulatim informabat, omnesque sine ulla violentia, sine omni omnino exactione, gratia Dei, per quam reges regnant, inflectebantur, exceptis quibusdam regis Henrici primis et conjunctioribus amicis, quos, ex plebeio genere inter aulanos juvenculos ad ministrandum assuetos, in tantum postea singulari sibi dilectione astrinxit, ut eos honoribus ditatos largissimis, prædiisque honoratos amplissimis, et omnium palatinorum archiministros efficeret, et omnium curialium causarum susceptores præscriberet. Isti itaque cum regia delegatione[1] curiam frequentare sæpius monerentur, eandemque is amicitiæ gratiam, eundem honorationis cumulum, quem eis rex Henricus exhibuit, se etiam eis relaturum sponderet, diu se circa castella sua reprimentes, scriptis regis adquiescere penitus abnuerunt, tum propter fidem et jusjurandum, quod connutritiæ suæ regis Henrici filiæ debuerant, tum quia quique regni nobiliores gloriam eorum et

Improved state of England.

Certain friends of the late king are discontented,

and refuse to come to Stephen's court.

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[1] *delectatione*, D.

A.D. 1136. pompam ægre ferebant, utpote qui ex imo creati genere se multo nobiliores et divitiis excederent, et dominio superarent. Verebantur etiam alia de causa in præsentiam[1] regis accedere, ne scilicet clamoribus pauperum, querimoniis viduarum, quorum ad suum usum terras redegerant, coram rege circumventi, quod injuste possederant, urgente justitia, prorsus amitterent. Sed rex malens circa eos benigna uti patientia, et omnia prius amore experiri quam armis, quosdam de assistentibus sibi, super quos præcipue innitebatur, ad eos in amoris concordiam reducendos transmisit, quatinus et blanditiis eos lenientes, et minis, ni adquiescerent, absterrentes, ad assensum suum quibus modis possent intentissime provocarent. Illi autem, intenta sibi a rege comminatione, cum salvo eundi et redeundi conductu curiam petiere; omnibusque quæ petierant ad votum impetratis, peracto cum jurejurando liberali hominio, illius sese servitio ex toto manciparunt. Affuit inter reliquos Paganus filius Joannis, sed et Milo ille, de quo superius fecimus mentionem, ille Herefordensis et Salopesbiriæ, iste Glocestrensis provinciæ dominatum gerens: qui in tantum in tempore regis Henrici potentiæ suæ culmen extenderant, ut a Sabrina flumine usque ad mare per omnes fines Angliæ et Waloniæ omnes placitis involverent, angariis onerarent. Sed illo defuncto, dum metu regis Stephani magis quam impotentia pressi, opportunitatem quando dissidentiam excitarent præstolarentur, ambo miserandis modis sine pœnitentiæ fructu interierunt; quia Paganus dum Walenses persequitur, solus inter suos, missili capite transforato, succubuit,[2] Milo vero

His endeavours to conciliate them.

They at last do homage to Stephen.

Death of Payne Fitz-John (10 July). Milo of Gloucester dies somewhat later.

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[1] *in præsentia*, D.

[2] The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 98, mentions his death in very similar words, apparently dating it about May, 1137; but the unprinted version of the same continuation in Cott. MS., Calig. A. VI., fo. 230 *b*, gives the date, 10 July, 1137, precisely, and states that he was buried in the chapter house of Gloucester by bishop Robert of Hereford and abbot Walter. His brothers are named in a charter in the Monasticon, ii. 90. 15. (ed. 1673).

A.D. 1136.

post multas perturbationes, quas postea regi et regno, consilio et astu, sicut in consequentibus plenius declarabimus,[1] intulit, dum cervis insidiaretur, a comite pectus sagitta transfixus sine mora interiit.

A council of the clergy in London (April).

Projects for improving the condition of the Church.

State of the Church in the reign of Henry I.

Omnibus igitur summatibus regni fide et jurejurando cum rege constrictis, edicto per Angliam promulgato, summos ecclesiarum ductores cum primis populi ad concilium Londonias conscivit.[2] Illis quoque quasi in unam sentinam illuc confluentibus, ecclesiarumque columnis sedendi ordine dispositis, vulgo etiam confuse et permixtim, ut solet, ubique se ingerente, plura regno et ecclesiæ profutura fuerunt et utiliter ostensa, et salubriter pertractata. De ecclesiæ siquidem statu in melius componendo, de ejusdem libertate multiplicius restauranda, splendide nonnulla in ipsa regis præsentia perorarunt, asserentes in regis Henrici præcipue temporibus ecclesiam vacillasse, ancillam fuisse dejectam et conculcatam, plurimique dedecoris injuriis affectam, pastores etenim ejus, spirituales scilicet divini verbi expensores, qui Dei mensæ conjunctius assistebant, [regem] placitis et legibus implicare; cujuslibet angariæ violenta exactione degravare; munuscula annuaria vice tributi ab eis exigere; ostium ecclesiæ Simonis frequentius quam Petri clave claudere vel aperire; quod Deus acceptavit, conjugii bonum, perfacili occasione dissolvere; adulterina lenocinia sicut ipse committere, ita et in aliis tolerare; terras ecclesiarum, pastoribus defunctis, in proprios usus redigere; altarium nonnunquam oblationes in præpositorum laicorum manus contradere, vel recompensa sibi mercede, quibus jure cedebant injuste concedere. Si quis autem ex adverso ascendens se murum pro domo Israel vellet objicere, nefandisque hujusmodi commentis ecclesiastico rigore occurrere, terrore illius

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[1] See under 1143.

[2] For reasons for dating the council early in April 1136, see p. 18, note 1.

Petition of the clergy to Stephen.

The king's gracious answer.

The liberties of the Church confirmed.

protinus repressus injuriis impeti, insecutione valida a se suisque comministris tribulari, nec ante in postulatione qualibet vel querimonia exaudiri quam, manu ejus inuncta, reum se præsumptionis in publico proclamaret. Super hac igitur inverecunda ecclesiæ depressione, alteraque, ut verius dicam, Pharaonis grassatione, in facie regis vehementer conquesti, obnixe eum imploraverunt, quatinus suæ ecclesiam libertati redderet, sui eam juris compotem efficeret, illius instituta legibus secularium præponi, illius decreta nulla ratione prævalente pateretur remitti. His autem rex patienter auditis, quæcumque postularant gratuito eis indulgens, ecclesiæ libertatem fixam et inviolabilem esse, illius statuta rata et inconcussa, ejus ministros, cujuscumque professionis essent vel ordinis, omni reverentia honorandos esse præcepit. Fecissetque præceptioni suæ satis, nisi et consiliatores perversi, qui bonum quandoque pervertunt animum, et ipsa indigentiæ necessitas, quæ nullam legem vel rationem admittit, ad hæc infringenda, sicut in consequentibus declarabimus, eum impulissent. Et istis quidem tali modo peroratis, in una omnium pace et concordia concilium est solutum.[1]

Character of Robert of Bathampton.

Exstitit eo in tempore Robertus[2] quidam de Batthentona, miles revera nec sanguinis infimi, nec honoris terrarum exigui, sed vorax vini et escarum consumptor, gulæ tantum et ebrietati sub pace vacabat. Mortuo autem rege Henrico, ebrietatis studium in discor-

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[1] William of Malmesbury gives Stephen's charter, p. 707, dating it from Oxford, in 1136, but he omits the witnesses. Richard of Hexham gives the charter with the names of all witnesses. These include Robert of Gloucester and Hugh Bigod. The former reached England after March 22; the latter rebelled on April 26 (H. Hunt., 259). Malmesbury dates the charter "*non multo post adventum comitis.*" These three facts seem to point to the beginning of April as the true date.

[2] H. Hunt., p. 259, also calls him *Robertus quidam.* The form *Batthentona* appears as *Bathentun* and *Bakentun* in the MSS. of Huntingdon.

A.D. 1136.

diæ commutans dissidium, militibus et sagittariis secum in castello agglutinatis, affines omnes igne et deprædatione vehementer vexabat: hominioque tandem regi Stephano exhibito, cum discordiæ maxime et inquietudinis deberet immunis existere, crudelior cunctis et infestior apparebat. Vocatus vero ad curiam tanquam de rebellio in regno excitato satisfacturus, piger quidem et subtristis advenit; utpote qui perjurii sibi et infidelitatis conscius regiam se majestatem offendisse prænorat. Accusatus denique a pluribus, quorum substantiam hostili invasione diripuerat, cum causa ejus invalida et responsio inefficax esset, sententiæ judicum protinus addictus, compulsus est et castellum regis deliberationi committere, et quæcumque possidebat in misericordiæ illius dispositionem[1] contradenda esse. Et hoc profecto juste provisum satisque idoneum judicatum fuit, ut qui aliorum cupidus quæ sua non erant injuste invaserat, justo æquitatis judicio et sua amitteret. Consultum est autem regi, quia necessitas ad hoc urgebat, militum cohortem ad ejus suscipiendum castellum, comitante ipso Roberto, destinaret. Quod et ipse hilari quidem et arridente vultu in curiæ conspectu concessit; sed in animo dolose versabat, quomodo et regis milites seducere et quæ proprii possidebat juris posset retinere. Cum igitur in itinere pariter progressi, ad quandam ipsius Roberti villam hospitandi gratia divertissent, ipso Roberto duce illorum et præambulo existente, omnes domus suæ ministros in eorum susceptionem gratanter excitavit, splendidoque epularum apparatu omnibus abunde convivatis, vino etiam largissimo et somno in nocte sepultis, ipse equum ascendens ab eis furtive discessit, suoque municipio contra regem valde obfirmato, nunc huc nunc illuc per incerta latibula vagans, quandoque etiam cum regis inimicis adversus eum inimicanter agens,

His acts of outrage.

He is summoned to the court of Stephen to answer for his offences.

Is sentenced to give up his castle,

and soldiers are sent to take it.

The plans of Robert for retaining his castle.

He makes his escape, and fortifies his stronghold.

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[1] *dispositione*, D.

A.D. 1136. horrendo tandem exitu inter extraneos expiravit. Sed regis milites in crastino expergefacti, ut consodalem tam negligenter amissum adverterunt, plurimum de discessione illius confusi, sicut sine Roberto ita et sine honore ad curiam redierunt. Audiens denique rex seditionem circa Batthentonam esse exortam, municipes namque Roberti, igne et rapina sævientes, escarum omne suffragium, viribus undecumque illatis, direptum in castellum congerebant, pulsa protinus dilatione, potenti cum armatorum expeditione illuc tetendit.[1] Quo cum perventum esset, fixis circa castellum castris, sagittariis etiam ad excubandum nocte dispositis, aliis ad insidiandum in die ordinatis, ad expeditionem perseveranter inferendum rex cum omni exercitu viriliter se accinxit. Nec mora, dum excubitores intentius pernoctant, miserum homunculum a muro demissum fugamque consulentem ceperunt, oblatumque regi in omnium suorum oculis alte suspenderunt; rege affirmante tali omnes exitio puniendos, ni jussioni suæ festine adquiescentes, de castello reddendo in commune consulerent. Illi statim verentes, minis sibi a rege intentis, vitæ suæ providere consultu dignum judicaverunt, dum constet[2] et verum sit nullam pro anima commutationem tribuendam; redditoque in manus regis castello, dura sibi, vellent nollent, imposita conditione, ut ab omni regno exules

His death.

Stephen marches to Bathampton.

The siege of Bathampton (June, 1136).

The surrender.

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[1] That this march was in the latter part of May, 1136, appears likely from the following reasons: (i.) the Waverley Annals, p. 225, say that Stephen stayed in East Anglia about Hugh Bigod's rebellion *ad Pentecosten* (May 10); (ii.) Ordericus places a proposed visit to Normandy *post Pentecosten*; (iii.) Henry of Hunt., p. 259, agrees that Stephen, after taking Bathampton, went to capture Exeter; (iv.) the siege of Exeter (see p. 25) occupied almost three months, and was ended by the drying up of the wells—a circumstance which points to the beginning of September; (v.) the Waverley Annals, p. 225, say that Stephen went to Brampton *ad festum sancti Michaelis*. Reckoning backwards, we see that the siege of Bathampton probably took place late in May or early in June.

[2] *constat*, D.

aberrarent, donec eos clementia regis revocaret, cum rege Scotio multo, ut audivimus, tempore habitarunt.[1]

Baldwin de Redvers makes an insurrection against the king at Exeter (about June).

Necdum ista rex ad effectum deduxerat, et ecce quidam maximæ discordiæ nuncii ex Esonia civitate, referentes Baldvinum de Revers, virum et dignitate et genere magnificum, insolita quædam et, ut res se habebat, adversus regiam pacem agere: quia urbem inter togatos cives solito arrogantius cum armato milite ingredi; nec solum in urbe commanentes, sed et convicaneos omnes, ut ad sui solius dominium inflecterentur rogare; omne etiam genus edulii in castellum,[2] quod ex regio sibi usurparat honore, festinanter ingerere; universis non suæ se præsumptioni inclinantibus ignem et gladium viva voce minari; idcirco se regem summissa prece implorare, ut civibus suis in tribulationis angustia positis, solumque[3] in defensione sua remedium sperantibus, succurrere maturaret: quo subventionis suæ ope roborati, et Baldvini potentiæ facilius reniti, et sibi soli valerent liberius et specialius obsequi. Talibus rex auditis, temerariam Baldvini præsumptionem indigne ferens, et ideo præcipue, quia luce clarius erat injuste eum adversum se insurrexisse, quia castelli Esoniensis, quod regalis semper extiterat juris, rex sibi custodiam rationabiliter requirebat, nullum hostibus discursandi per provincias tempus indulsit, sed ducentis equitibus, qui illum præcederent, ad Esoniam destinatis, præcepit ut tota nocte itinerantes adversarios secluderent si possent, sin autem civibus permixti armati incederent, neve civitati obessent sollicite procurarent. Cum igi-

The citizens send to the king for assistance.

The king orders two hundred cavalry to march to Exeter.

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[1] Ordericus Vitalis (Prevost's edit., vol. v., p. 63) says that after May 10, 1136—probably therefore just before the attack on Bathampton—Stephen prepared a fleet to cross to Normandy. Hearing, however, a false report of the death of bishop Roger, he returned to Salisbury. As a result of the interruption, he postponed his journey till the following Lent.

[2] *castello*, D.

[3] *solamque*, D.

A.D. 1136.

The followers of Baldwin, being about to destroy and plunder the city, are routed by the king's troops.

tur in mane crastinus dies erupisset, Balduini milites in cives iracundia permoti, eo quod in malum suum ad regem misissent, ad civitatem spoliandam, ad faces domibus injiciendas, agmine conferto e castello prodibant, cum ecce legionarii[1] micantibus armis, vexillisque in altum volitantibus, civitati appropiarunt, tumultuque civitatis, pro castellanis deprædatione et igne furentibus, horribiliter exorto, portis se audacter inferentes, in fugam adversarios repente miserunt. Nec mora, et rex in turmis et centenariis cum glorioso, immo ut verius dicam, cum horrendo comitatu advenit, civibusque suis cum honore et gloria, cum donariis et festiva lætitia illi occurrentibus, gaudenter intra muros susceptus fuit.

Stephen is gladly received by the citizens.

Description of Exeter.

Est autem Esonia civitas ampla, vetustissimo Cæsarum opere murata, quarta ut ferunt principalis Angliæ sedes, æquoreorum piscium, carnium quoque, et navalis commercii refertissima. Castellum in ea situm, editissimo aggere sublatum, muro inexpugnabili obseptum, turribus Cæsarianis inscissili[2] calce confectis firmatum: in quo Balduinus validissimam pubem, totius duntaxat Angliæ florem, ad obsistendum regi delectam imposuit. Et isti quidem fide et jurejurando, ne regi cederent omnino, cum essent astricti, cum uxore illius et filiis, ad omnia parati recludebantur, castellumque cum micantibus armis spissim et ordinate coronantes, conviciis illatis, regem et suos sæpissime improperabant. Aliquando etiam ex occultis aditibus ex insperato prosilientes, regium damnaturi exercitum cum impetu irruere, nonnunquam vero aut sagittas emittere, aut jacula ex alto vibrare, multisque aliis modis, cum tempus exigebat, infesti existere. Ceterum rex cum baronum copia, qui omnes aut cum adveniente convenerant, aut perniciter eum collatis viribus subsequebantur, multis modis quo eis molestior esset desu-

The castle is strongly garrisoned by Baldwin de Redvers.

The siege.

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[1] *regionarii*, D.

[2] *incisili*, D., but Roman mortar, that will not split is meant.

A.D. 1136.

davit; quare[1] et agmine peditum instructissime armato exterius promurale, quod ad castellum muniendum aggere cumulatissimo in altum sustollebatur, expulsis constanter hostibus suscepit, pontemque interiorem, quo ad urbem de castello incessus protendebatur, viriliter infregit, lignorumque ingentia ædificia, quibus de muro pugnare nitentibus resisteretur, mire et artificiose exaltavit. Die etiam et nocte graviter et intente obsidionem clausis inferre; nunc cum armatis aggerem incessu quadrupede conscendentibus rixam pugnacem secum committere; nunc cum innumeris funditoribus, qui e diverso conducti fuerant, intolerabili eos lapidum grandine infestare; aliquando autem ascitis eis, qui massæ subterraneæ cautius norunt venas incidere, ad murum diruendum viscera terræ scrutari præcipere; nonnunquam etiam machinas diversi generis, alias in altum sublatas, alias humo tenus depressas, istas ad inspiciendum quidnam rerum in castello gereretur, illas ad murum quassandum vel subruendum aptare. Illi e contra fortiter et promptissime refragantes, omnia ejus machinamenta, in quibus plurimum artificum desudarat ingenium, nihili pendebant: ita ut strenue et ingeniose utrisque decertantibus, magnum eorum fieret prudentiæ et velocitatis certamen.

Secret propositions for surrendering the castle of Plympton to the king.

Cum igitur omnes laboriose decertarent, et isti quidem ut reclusos devincerent, illi autem ut se ab exclusis inexpugnanter defenderent, milites Balduini, quibus observandi castelli sui de Plintona curam indulserat, propter insuperabilem,[2] quam adesse cum rege audierant, virtutem, de domino suo desperantes, et ne vitæ suæ periculum incurrerent, ut inertissimi et inconstantis animi, plus justo formidantes, de reddendo castello pacisque concordia inter eos statuenda regi occulte miserunt. Rex itaque malens in pacis et

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[1] *quia*, D.

[2] *inseparabilem*, D.

A.D. 1136.

concordiæ amore cuncta[1] componere, quam schisma dissensionis quoquomodo enutrire, libenti animo quæcumque postularant annuit, dummodo se imperio suo inclinantes, quæ pacis essent toto nisu excolerent. Datis denique dextris et acceptis, ducenti milites, cum ingenti sagittantium cuneo, penes Plintonam diriguntur, primoque diluculo ante castellum inopinate loricati astantes maximum comprovincialibus terrorem, et præcipue hujus factionis insciis, incutientes, ab ipsis proditoribus, quasi pro impotentia obsidioni resistere non valentibus, redditum castellum tandem suscipiunt. Quo postremo suscepto, regisque ex jussione solo tenus diruto, omnem Balduini terram, quæ in illis partibus ampla est et delectabilis omnibusque affluens bonis, horribili deprædatione nudantes, cum multis gregum et armentorum millibus Esoniam, ad regem, redierunt. Talia[2] per omnes Damnoniæ partes fama dispergente, omnes Balduini astipulatores sibi periculum, rebus jacturam ex regis sibi insectatione inferendam admodum metuentes, ei se supplices contulerunt, excepto Aluredo filio Joelis[3] cujusdam illustrissimi viri, qui erat cum Balduino familiaritate notissimus, amicitia connexus, fide etiam ad obsistendum regi adjuratus. Sed cum castellum haberet pertensum et invalidum, nec ad suos contutandos sufficienti munitione securum, vacuum illud et hominum expers omnino reliquit, Esoniamque cum fortissima militum manu frater illius latenter adventans, inter regios milites, nec enim possibile erat, inter tot loricatos, quis ille vel iste esset facile discernere, sub specie regem adjuvantium se commiscuit. Deinde legato intra castellum misso, captivi siquidem et re-

The king's forces are received into Plympton.

The followers of Baldwin submit to the king, with the exception of Alured Fitz Joel.

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[1] *cunctæ*, D.

[2] *Alia*, Duchesne. Sewell suggests *illa*.

[3] See Monasticon (ed. 1655, i., pp. 684–5). Perhaps this was Alured de Totnes, apparently a son of the Joel mentioned in a charter to Barnstaple priory which Baldwin de Redvers witnesses.

ligiosi certis de causis introeundi vices frequentabant, Balduini milites de adventu suo certificavit, quodque, propriis quæcumque possederat relictis, fide illius et amore allectus, quæcumque sors ei objiceret, cum eis passurus advenit. Illi continuo pro consodalis adventu festivo gaudio exultantes, portis apertis, in illius occursum cum innumeris armatis prosiluere, eumque cum suis in facie regis, et in omnium conspectu principum sane introduxerunt. Confusus illico regis exercitus, et illi potissimum, quibus providendi et magistrandi in alios cura committebatur, eo quod illi et sui communionem, ignorantibus omnibus, participati fuissent, et, quod eos mordacius urebat, illibate et libere de medio illorum ad hostes se transtulissent. Rex autem leni animo quod acciderat ferens, nihil super hoc indignabatur; verum tunc demum festum se diem acturum aiebat, si divina id actum esset providentia, ut omnes pacis suæ adversarii in uno locello concluderentur.

The besieged at Exeter make a sally.

Alured contrives to get into the castle.

Interea dum et exterius impugnantium, et interius obnitentium, anceps esset victoria, rex etiam ibi tribus fere mensibus perendinatus, usque ad xv. millia marcarum[1] in variis expensis consumpsisset, tantos rerum Dispositor Deus volens terminare labores, duorum castelli puteorum uberes venas, affluisque aquarum rivulis semper destillantes, adeo exsiccavit, ut quæ prius ad quotidianum haustum hominibus et jumentis abunde suffecerant, vix nunc ad unius sedandam sitim sufficere prævalerent. Asserunt quidam ex intemperati solis caloribus refluas aquarum scatebras contractas esse, alii fluitantibus in viscera terræ meatibus, aliquo accidente casu, in imis cavernis occultisve terræ sinibus retrusas fuisse. Ego autem non id solis ardori, non casui cuilibet ascribo, sed viva voce protestor, divinam in puteis siccatis adesse virtutem, quia, si in tot anteactis seculis cum et calores plurimi

The siege lasts nearly three months.

The wells of the castle dry up.

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[1] *marcas*, D.

A.D. 1136.

extiterint, semper inexhaustæ abundaverint, nec nunc, nisi divina virtute operante, usque ad aquarum indigentiam extenuarentur: maxime cum et ante castelli obsidionem, et post ipsius statim redditionem, aquæ largissime exuberarint, earumque tantum dum obsidio protelaretur adesset indigentia: ut videlicet sitis supplicio, tanquam aliquo Dei castigati flagello, sponte et suppliciter cogerentur reddere, quod injuste et arroganter videbantur tenere.

The besieged are reduced to the greatest extremities for want of water.

Aquis igitur cessantibus, ab omnibus, ad necessaria explenda, ad vinum recurrebatur; quod quidem in brevi fuit exhaustum; dum necessitas urgeret, et panes vice aquæ vino conficere, et, si qui erant patinandi cibi, vino lixare. Igni quoque et facibus, quos ad machinas eorum ustulandas, vel ad domos consumendas, regis artifices prudenter et artiste immittebant, cum vino semper extincturi occurrebant, quousque sicut nec aquæ, ita nec vini guttam prorsus haberent. Unde constat, potu deficiente, multimodis eos passionibus angustiari, et ad singula quæque solito imbecilliores existere: quia fragile corpus hominis tunc demum constans est et convalescit, quando naturæ sufficienti sustentatur alimento: cum vero imminutum fuerit, vel ex toto subtractum, infirmum habetur et omnino invalidum. Continuis itaque excubationibus ultra humanam opinionem afflicti, diversis pugnarum modis, quos de muro adversariis inferebant, usque ad defectum fatigati, sitis ad extremum nimia et intolerabili arefactione extenuati, in commune sibi consuluere; quatinus consultis illis, deque interiori, qua vexabantur, angustia secrete certificatis, quorum impulsu Balduinus se contra regem armaverat, qui et tunc cum rege dolose militabant, salvis hominibus castellum contraderent. Nec mora, duobus totius castelli primis et dignioribus ad regem delegatis, qui et linguas venustius ornare, et verba quotiens expediebat prudentius et ornatius immutare prænorant. Sed ille, fratris sui Wintoniensis episcopi

Proposals for capitulation are

A.D. 1136.

consilio persuasus, ferream illis frontem ostendens, inexauditos a præsentia sua cum minis abegit: quia episcopus, laxa et effœta eorum cute conspecta, militibus remissis et a naturali succo vacuatis, labris dispanso hiatu retractis, anhela eos siti laborare deprehendit, ideoque nequaquam consultum esse progrediendi de castello permissum eis indulgere, cum ratum esset in proximo eos ad votum suum, quocumque modo exoptabant, cessuros. Uxor etiam Balduini duram hanc suorum repulsionem non ferens, nuda pedes, sparsa scapulis crines, largos lacrymarum imbres emanans, ad regem pro suis supplicatura accessit. Sed ille humiliter eam et benigne suscepit, tum pro pietate, quam de miserando et afflicto sexu habuerat, tum pro nobilis mulieris cognatis et amicis, qui secum ibi in obsidione laborabant, auditisque quæ flebiliter de reddendo castello miseranda deposcebat, inflexibiliter se et adhuc indurans, sine effectu ad suos tandem remisit. Istis itaque hoc modo repulsis, solumque proximam mortem opperientibus, barones regis alii pro contribulibus suis, qui intus recludebantur, germano sanguini compassi, vehementer indoluerunt: alii Balduini dissensionis conscii et cooperatores, pro obsidione consentaneis suis tam obstinate intenta non minimum effrenduerunt, factoque agmine regem pariter adeuntes nunc viva cum eo ratione plura contulerunt, nunc blanditiis intermixtis in alterum eum hominem repente mutaverunt.

rejected by the advice of the bishop of Winchester.

The wife of Baldwin petitions the king in vain.

The barons of the realm interfere successfully on behalf of Baldwin.

Dicebant namque regi plenum se de hostibus conquisisse triumphum, dum quod sui erat juris, prævalentibus viribus suis, tandem conquisisset; ideoque dignitati suæ esse aptius, regiæque pietati competentius, captivis supplicibus vitam donare, quam usque ad mortem punitis, quod parum vitæ supererat immisericorditer auferre. Addebant et illos non in regiam majestatem jurasse, nec nisi in fidelitatem domini sui arma movisse; immo tunc se specialiter cum rege

Their argument.

A.D. 1136. agere declarabant, cum, quod sui erat juris proprii, in manus suas tandem tradidissent. Quocirca consultius esse regnoque suo commodius judicabant, morosam illam, qua maxime gravabantur, solvere obsidionem, quatinus et castellum ad gloriæ suæ augmentum susciperet, et ad alia explenda negotia paratius sese et avidius accingeret. Rex autem baronum frequentia vallatus, qui non solum precum blanditiis implorabant, verum etiam monitis eum suasoriis impellebant, flexus postremo quæ petierant concessit: utque conjunctius sibi alliceret, inque servitium suum devotiores haberet, non solum eos libere progredi, sed et sua exportare, et cuicumque domino vellent adhærere permisit. Illis denique progredientibus, corpora singulorum marcida siccaque siti videres languentia, citiusque ad hauriendum cujusvis generis poculum, quam ad quodlibet explendum negocium, egressi properabant.

The king yields to their advice.

The besieged are allowed to march out and carry away their property, and follow any chief they think fit.

Audiens Balduinus regem superiorem, quæque possederat in manus illius cessisse, non est desperatus nec animo fractus; sed, viribus reparatis, ad terram suam de Wiht, rebellium et adhuc excitaturus, se totum convertit. Est autem Wiht insula marina, longitudinis capax, latitudine stricta, nautarum excursibus frequentata, piscium abundans, frugibus infœcunda, tota fere in Balduini sortem ex patrimonio collata, inter Angliam et Normanniam, sed Angliæ propinquius sita. In hac idem castellum habebat, ornatissimo lapidum ædificio constructum, validissimo munimine firmatum, ex quo, collectis in immensum navigium piratis, regiam potestatem infirmare tentabat; flatumque ad omnem paratus, et mercatores inter Angliam et Normanniam velificantes intercipere, et utrisque terris, quocumque nisu posset, molestiam inferre desudabat. Sed rex stropham illius præveniens, castellum Esoniense cum adjacente provincia in episcopi Wintoniensis dispositione relinquens, Balduinum celeriter fuit subsecutus. Veniensque ad portum, qui

Baldwin flees to the Isle of Wight (September?).

Description of the island.

vocatur Hamtona, eo quod esset insulæ contiguus accessuque facilior, classem sibi cum nauticis instrumentis aptare præcepit: cum ecce Balduinus, de illius adventu tam subito tamque insperato nimium obstupescens, ad eum supplex et miserandus, urgentibus amicis, advenit. Castello siquidem Vihttensi firme et inexpugnabiliter adversus regem munito, mensus est sollicite, si, quemadmodum escarum inerat abundantia, ita et ad hominum inhabitantium quantitatem aquarum non deesset sufficientia. Sed et hoc rerum dispositrice Dei actum est providentia, ut et aquæ subita superveniente ariditate exsiccarentur, et ad obsistendum regi ipse et comministri ejus desperatione frangerentur. Quocirca quæ prius possederat regem deposcens, nec impetrans, exul tandem ab Anglia ad comitem Andegavensem eum impugnaturus accessit. Comes autem in adventu illius admodum lætificatus, honoranter eum cum suis suscepit, seque ad explendum omne animi sui propositum paratum esse, et devotissimum aiebat, sive in curia sua commilitare, sive regiæ dignitati disposuisset obsistere.

A.D. 1136.

The king preparing to sail for the Isle of Wight, Baldwin surrenders himself.

Baldwin goes into exile to the count of Anjou, and is honourably received.

At Balduinus, curiales delicias ad tempus aspernans, ad discordiam in regem promovendam se constanter accingere; amicis et cognatis pro regis infestatione plurimum conqueri, se patria pulsum, a patrimonio alienatum, fugam et exilium injuste perpessum, ideoque ad solius sui refugii portum recurrisse, quatinus viribus et armis secum utentibus, si quo modo fortunam in melius immutare possent, experirentur. Et illi quidem illustrissimi viri querimoniis tenere compatientes, adeo eum actu et consilio intente adjuvarunt, ut eum cum suis in propriis recipientes castellis, domini ei vicem et honorem ex toto concesserint. Ipse itaque, plurimis in auxilium suum conspirantibus, in tota Normannia, et præcipue contra regi consentientes, dissensionem ordiri; non rapinæ aut violentiæ parcere; non se a gladio vel ab incendio retrahere; improvise ad deprædandum irruens omnia

The intrigues of Baldwin against the king.

Insurrection in Normandy.

A.D. 1136.

Baldwin is instigated by the empress Maud.

[im]misericorditer auferre; turbam ubique faciens cunctis se formidandum exhibere. Ad hæc autem mala inferenda comitissa Andegavensis, regis Henrici filia, continuo precandi et admonendi stimulo eum impellebat; quia, defuncto patre, thesauros ejus, quos ad animæ illius medelam justius erat egentibus impartiri, in proprios usus redegerat,[1] castella quædam ad sui ipsius proprietatem firmarat. Nec solum Balduinum, sed et alios, quotquot poterat, ad sibi obsequendum inclinarat; utpote quæ regni dominium, ex paterno sibi jure, juste, ut sibi videbatur,[2] vendicabat.

Talia cum rex in Normannia plenius fieri edidicisset, missis trans mare legatis, neque enim propter grave rerum insistendarum pondus prævaluit tam cito illic assistere, digniores quosque prece et[3] . . .

[*Desunt hic aliquot folia.*]

A.D. 1137. December 25.

The king requires Milo de Beauchamp to give up the castle of Bedford, and do homage.

. . . . Bedefordiæ comitem efficeret.[4] Curia denique splendide et solemniter, ut in Christi decuit Nativitate, celebrata, missis rex ad Milonem de Bellocampo nunciis, qui castello Bedefordiæ ex regia permissione custos præsidebat, præcepit, ut et castellum Bedefordiæ, et quam sibi debebat servitii vicem Hugoni exhiberet. Si vero præcepto suo libens adquiesceret honorandum eum, multisque donandum exeniis; si vero quoquo modo contrarius haberetur, totius eum infortunii adversitatem perlaturum citissime pollicebatur. Milo denique, regia legatione per-

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[1] Should apparently be *rex Stephanus* redegerat.

[2] *videbantur*, D.

[3] We here lose details of what happened at Brampton, including the effects of the breach of agreement as to the forest laws (H. Hunt., p. 260). We lose, too, an account of what was happening in England while Stephen was in Normandy. He returned (R. Hex. and R. of Torig.) about Advent (Nov. 28), and kept the Christmas feast of 1137 at Dunstable (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 101). At this point our chronicle resumes.

[4] The name here lost is probably that of Hugh le Poer. See p. 32, note 1.

A.D. 1137.

Milo offers to do knight-service, but refuses to give up the castle.

A.D. 1138.

The king marches against Bedford (in January?)

Milo provisions his castle.

The king besieges it.

cepta, libenti se animo regi militaturum, ejusque imperiis obsecuturum dicebat, ni se a possessione, ex paterno jure sibi et suis debita, amovere temptaret; quod si id ex animo faceret, si fixe adversum se insurgere pararet, se quidem iram ejus quanto posset patientius tolerare, sed castellum, nisi illo ad extrema deducto, [regem] numquam habiturum. Talia rex percipiens, maxima indignatione erga Milonem permotus, ex omni Anglia in unum exercitu confluente, illum obsessurus Bedefordiam advenit.[1] Cognito Milo illius adventu, quicquid escarum sub manibus repererat, ab omnibus cum violentia distractum, secum asportavit; civibusque et confinibus, quibus prius, ut suis, humane pepercerat, inverecundam[2] inferens rapinam, quicquid oculis occurrebat in castellum congessit, portisque diligenter obseratis, hac vice regales sine suorum detrimento exclusit. Verum rex castelli ambitum prudenter pergyrans, illis et illis in locis, quæ ad insidiandum opportuniora habebantur, sagittantium phalanges apposuit, præcepitque ut in altum dirigentes, vel propugnaculis inhærentes, crebra sagittarum impeterent emissione, liberumque prospectum habere non permittentes, ad eos perturbandos studiose contenderent. Ille interim ad diversi generis machinas construendas, quæ vel ad vallum dispergendum vel ad murum dissipandum aptarentur, arte et ingenio, sumptu et opere

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[1] "*Emensis festivis diebus Dominicæ Nativitatis*" is the date in *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 102. H. Hunt., p. 260, says "*in vigilia Natalis.*" Ord. Vit., v., p. 103, says that the king attacked Bedford at Christmas, *prohibente fratre suo Henrico*, and that it was defended by the sons of Robert de Beauchamp, who feared that the king would marry their cousin to Hugh le Poer, earl of Bedford, third son of Robert de Meulan. Adam de Domerham, ed. Hearne, p. 328, gives a charter dated 1138, "apud Goldintonam "in obsidione Bedeford." In Dugdale's Monasticon (1655), vol. i., p. 480, is a charter of Stephen, probably of this date, given "apud "Maperteshalam in obsidione." Close to Meppershall church, Bedfordshire, is a mound with double circumvallation answering to the ordinary earthwork and timber castles of this reign.

[2] *irreverendam*, D.

A.D. 1138.

The siege turned into a blockade.

The castle is surrendered, but is subsequently recovered.

insudare; nocte vero proceres excubitores ad singulos castelli ingressus observandos, ne inclusi ad suos commovendos irrumperent, neve forensis quilibet escas eis vel solamina inferret, sollerter ordinare; die vero quantum adversitatis artificiosius ei intendere, quibus modis competentius posset inflectere, studiosius providere. Sed quia castellum editissimo aggere vallatum, muro forti et arduo in circuitu cinctum, inquassabili turri et forti firmatum, hominibus duris et invictis oppletum, spem tam cito capiendi prorsus ademerat, ad alia regni peragenda negotia, quæ illum instanter stimulabant, [se] convertens, majorem exercitus partem ad eos obsidendos reliquit; jussitque, ut si machinis eos subjugare non possent, quousque fame et inedia defecti supplices redderentur, obsidionem protelarent. Et illi quidem, rege discesso, tamdiu obsidendo eos vexarunt, usque dum, cibis deficientibus et ipsi defetiscentes, tenendi impossibilitatem tandem faterentur. Sub militari igitur conditione castellum deserentes, regis ad hoc eos compellente virtute et imperio, tradiderunt. Sed quanto tunc humiliores et depressiores, tanto, aliquantillo elapso tempore, elatiores et acerbiores ad ipsum castellum redeuntes, non solum illud recuperarunt, verum ipsum Rogerium de comite militem, de milite pauperem, Deo judice, ordine mirabiliter transverso, effecerunt.[1] Sed de his plenius in sequentibus.

Invasion of Northumberland by the Scotch.

Expugnata denique Bedefordia, cum jam discordiæ finem impositum, omnemque repugnantiæ commotionem sopitam crederes et omnino abolitam, ecce totius malitiæ radix et origo in ea Angliæ parte, quæ Nordhunbria dicitur, rapinam et incendium, discordiam et bellum promotura surrexit.[1] A.D. 1138.

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[1] These words should be compared with the elucidating passage as to Hugh on p. 73. This shows that we should regard *Rogerium* as a mistake, and read *Hugonem*. The pusillanimous restoration of the castle to Milo by Hugh le Poer took place in 1141. Ordericus Vitalis, v., p. 120, calls Roger of Salisbury's son, the chancellor, "*Rogerius cognomento Pauper*." Hence perhaps the confusion.

Tam magnum enimvero, tamque stupendum fuit hoc malum, ut non solum hominibus horrendum, verum etiam de cœlo magnum declaratum sit et admirandum; cum paulo antequam hoc contigisset, viderimus non modicam cœli partem ad instar fornacis ardentis igneas spissim scintillas emittere, ignitosque miræ conflagrationis globos, tanquam[2] vivi incendii carbones, non in uno tantum, sed divise variis in locis agiliter sese et densanter movere. Et hæc nimirum tam aperta, tamque visibilis ignivoma cœli facies vel futuram maximi sanguinis effusionem, vel indicibilem, quæ subsecuta est, villarum et urbium exprimebat cremationem, quia Summus rerum Opifex, cum sit invisibilis, ignorantiæ tamen nostræ pie condescendens, visibiliter nos de futuris instruit, et aliquando re vera signum de cœlo ad nos informandos ostendit, aliquando per quælibet, Ipso agente, accidentia in terris inscitiam nostram certificat et præmunit. Et de cœlo quidem, sicut in libro Regum, cum viderent partem cœli insolito inductam rubore, belli scilicet futuri a Deo præmonstratum signum, exponentes quidnam illud prætenderet, dixerunt, "Sanguis est gladii." In libro quoque Machabæorum, cum intuerentur igneas discurrere in cœlo acies, militumque aeriorum nihil nisi ignem spirantium communes conflictus, verissime futuri mali esse agnoscebant portenta; quod et ipse historiarum textus ita fuisse certissime commendat. Sed et in terris plurima ostendit Deus, quæ rerum

Preternatural warnings.

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4 Reg. iii. 23.

2 Mach. v. 2.

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[1] Richard of Hexham furnishes details of this invasion. It began on Jan. 10; Stephen heard of it (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 102) after the fall of Bedford, and he reached Northumberland by Feb. 2. Bedford therefore capitulated about the middle of January. Ordericus Vitalis, v., p. 104, says the siege lasted five weeks, and began before Christmas (*ibique Natali Domini . . laboriose peregit*). This would give the end of January.

[2] *tamq.* (for *tamque*), D.

A.D. 1138. in proximo futurarum aperta fuerunt indicia, sicut scissionem pallii Saulis, quæ regni illius consummationem portendebat. Decem quoque scissuræ, quas propheta jussit Jeroboam tollere, dominium eum super decem tribus habiturum expresserunt. 3 Reg. xi. 29. Omnia nihilominus prophetarum gesta, sed et scriptio illa, quæ coram Baltasar fuit exarata, et somnia patris sui, nihil aliud nisi rerum supervenientium vera quædam erant præsagia, quibus mortales præcognitis et Deo suppliciores et in ipsis malis fierent cautiores. Non igitur me lector rugosa sanna derideat, si polum, quem his oculis in ardorem conversum, densissimaque conspexi ignis et carbonum vellera proferre, malorum futurorum formam dixerim, illiusque dirissimæ pestis quæ in Nordhumbria consequenter evenit, significationem. Audiat itaque et advertat, qui nosse desiderat.

David king of Scotland had promised Henry to support his daughter.

Erat rex in Scotia, quæ confinis est Angliæ, fluvio quodam certis limitibus duo regna determinante, rex pectoris mansueti, progenitoribusque religiosis exortus, et ipse justo vivendi tramite illos coæquans. Iste, cum in præsentia regis Henrici, cum ceteris regni summatibus, immo omnium primus jurejurando se constrinxisset, nullum, illo expirante, nisi aut filiam regis, aut ejus hærèdem in regnum[1] suscepturum, vehementer indoluit Stephanum ad regni Anglorum gubernaculum successisse. Sed quia illud sine suo consultu ab ipsis baronibus provisum fuit et actum, extrema rerum sapienter metiens, ad quem finem cœpta devenirent, tempore aliquanto tacitus expectabat. Tandem cum regis Henrici filia literis ad eum missis intimaret, se patrio testamento alienatam; regno sibi sponso et jurato privatam, leges solutas, justitiam calcatam, fidem baronum Angliæ fœdusque juratum ruptum ex toto et nihili pensum, ideoque suppliciter illum et lacrymose precari, quatinus ut cognatus

The empress Maud complains to him of the loss of her kingdom.

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[1] *regno*, D.

A.D. 1138.

destitutæ subveniret, ut sibi adjuratus miserandæ subsidium impenderet, rex alte ingemuit, zeloque justitiæ succensus, tum pro communis sanguinis cognatione, tum pro fide mulieri repromissa et debita, regnum Angliæ turbare disposuit; ut undique in regem dissentione commota, quod injuste, ut sibi videbatur, occupaverat, justiori se, cooperante Deo, linquere cogeretur. Habebat rex secum, qui eum crebro admonitionis calcare ad turbationem concitandam stimulabant, hinc filium Roberti de Bathentona, ejusque collaterales, qui ex Anglia, ut dictum est, exulati, sub spe recuperandæ patriæ ad illum confugerant; inde filium Joannis Eustachium, regis Henrici summum et popularem amicum, aliosque quamplures, qui vel questus gratia vel justitiæ, ut sibi videbatur, defendendæ occasione discordiam ambiebant. Rex igitur David, sic enim vocabatur, perpenso[1] per Scotiam edicto omnes in arma commovit, laxatisque permissionis suæ frenis, quicquid in Anglos truculentius, quicquid excogitare possent inhumanius, remota pietate, peragere præcepit.

She is supported by the son of Robert of Bathampton and other exiles.

David wages a cruel war against England.

Est autem Scotia, quæ et Albania dicitur, regio locis palustribus circumsepta, silvarum fertilium, lactis, et armentorum copiosa, portubus salubribus, insulis opulentis circumcincta, sed incolas barbaros habens et impuros, nec nimio frigore fractos, nec aspera fame detritos, citis pedibus levique armaturæ confidentes; anxium amaræ[2] mortis exitum pro nihilo ducentes inter suos domesticos, sed inter sibi extraneos omnes crudelitate excedentes. Hujus igitur gentis rebellem multitudinem a citerioribus Scotiæ partibus in exercitum inopinabilem adunans, penes Angliam direxit, regnique utriusque transitis interfiniis, in provinciam Nordhumbriæ, quæ lata erat et populosa, omniumque necessariorum copiis referta, fuit castra metatus.

Description of Scotland.

David marches into Northumberland (Jan. 10).

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[1] *propanso?* see p. 79.

[2] *amare*, D.

A.D. 1138. Inde turmis et bellantium ordinibus dispositis, in omnem terram, quæ spaciosa erat et dives, ...

[*Desiderantur et hic nonnulla.*][1]

In hunc denique modum regis et nunciorum verbis terminatis, discessum est. Et rex plane Londoniam,[2] nuncii vero ad specialem comitis sedem Bristoam tendentes, quam dura regno Angliæ mandata suis pertulerunt—ut scilicet escis plurimis castrum Bristoæ refarcirent, omnium ad se confluentium consortia susciperent, quicquid durius et infestius possent in regem et suos, tanquam in comitis adversarios, sine mora committerent.

Description of Bristol.

Est autem Bristoa civitas omnium fere regionis civitatum opulentissima, ex vicinis peregrinisque terris navigio velificante suscipiens mercimonia; in fertiliori Angliæ parte constituta, ipso etiam situ loci omnium civitatum Angliæ munitissima. Sicut enim de Brundusio legimus, quædam provinciæ Glaornensis pars ad formam linguæ restricta et in longum protensa, duobus fluviis gemina ejus latera proluentibus, inque inferiori parte ubi ipsa terra defectum patitur, in unam aquarum abundantiam coeuntibus, efficit civitatem. Viva quoque et fortis maris exæstuatio noctibus et diebus abundanter exundans, ex ambabus civitatis partibus fluvios ipsos in latum et profundum pelagus regurgitare in seipsos cogit, portumque mille

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[1] By this lacuna we lose, as regards the North, the facts as to Stephen's march against the Scotch about Feb. 2; his return about Feb. 17; the renewal of the invasion on April 8; the details of the battle of the Standard, and many subsequent events. For these we may refer to R. of Hexham. As regards the South we should probably have had notices of the revolt of certain great barons after Easter mentioned by H. Hunt., p. 261, and by the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 105, 106. The incursion of the Danes mentioned under 1138 by Alberic des Trois Fontaines (Bouquet, xii. 699) must be a Norwegian raid, like Eystein's in 1153.

[2] Perhaps the visit to London referred to in the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 108. It should be remarked that in the Engl. Hist. Society's edit. of Florence the passage from *hoc tamen oro* (p. 107) to *neque bibit* (p. 108), and another passage on p. 113, are absurdly out of place.

A.D. 1138.

carinis habillimum et tutissimum efficiens, ambitum illius adeo prope et conjuncte constringit, ut tota civitas aquis innatare, tota super ripas considere videatur; ex una tamen ejus regione, ubi ad obsidendum opportunior magisque pervia habetur, castellum plurimo aggere exaltatum, muro et propugnaculis, turribus et diversis machinis firmatum, impugnantium coercet accessus, in quod[1] undam equitum et clientum pedestrium, immo ut verius dicam prædonum et raptorum abundantiam, adeo grandem et mirabilem advocarunt, ut non solum etiam contemplantibus magna et metuenda, sed etiam horrenda et incredibilis videretur. E diversis siquidem provinciis et regionibus emersi, tanto illic abundantius et gratulantius affuerunt, quanto sub divite domino ex munitissimo castello, quicquid libentius animo occurreret in uberrimam committere Angliam[2] fuit eis permissum.

Geoffrey Talbot, an exile, is taken, and narrowly escapes his fate.

Affuit inter reliquos Galfridus ille Taleboth, qui, ut præmissum est,[3] ab Anglia exulatus, omne dirissimæ infectionis venenum passim exhalare, quicquid etiam crudelitatis vesana mens et indiscreta concipere solet, agere disponebat. Sed malitia illius in seipsum, Deo judice, fuit conversa, quia dum alios trucidare alios damnare deliberat, ipse primum captus, vinculisque tenacissime constrictus damnationis sententiam pæne suscepit.

Description of Bath.

Est civitas a Bristoa VI. milliariis distans, ubi fonticuli per occultas fistulas aquas, sine[4] humano ingenio et artificio calefactas, ex abstrusis terræ visceribus sursum in receptaculum per cameratas arcuationes gloriose dispositum emanant,[5] thermasque temperatas et sanas, aspectuque delectabiles in medio civitatis

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[1] *quo*, D.

[2] *uberrima . . . Anglia*, D.

[3] In the lost leaves. He was driven from Hereford in 1138 (Ord. Vital., v., p. 112), and from Weobly (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 106). See also pp. 107, 108 of the latter chronicle, and p. 68 of this volume.

[4] *ex*, D., an error caught up from the line below.

[5] Here active, as in Vulgate, *Ep. Jac.* iii., 11.

A.D. 1138.

efficiunt. Quæ civitas Batta vocatur, quod ex Anglicæ linguæ proprietate trahens vocabulum, Balneum interpretatur, eo quod ad illam ex omni Anglia infirmi causa in salubribus aquis diluendi, sani vero gratia mirabiles calidæ aquæ eruptiones videndi, et in eis balneandi, concurrere solent. Hanc igitur civitatem, eo quod facilis esset ad muniendum, ad sortem suam Bristoenses adjicere conantes, facto agmine in primo diei crepusculo improvise illam adiere, scalisque secum et aliis machinulis ad murum conscendendum convectis, in quadam valle recepti paululum expectarunt, quoad usque, situ civitatis adituque capiendi ab exploratoribus considerato, laxatis omnes habenis illuc pariter convolarent. Galfridus itaque Taleboth, cognatusque illius Gislebertus de Laceio,[1] vir prudens et in omni militari actione providus et operosus, ad explorandum destinati, circuitum civitatis pedetentim et caute, ut sibi videbatur, perlustrarunt: cum ecce milites præsulis Battensis, illis conspicatis, repente interfuerunt, Gislebertoque de medio illorum evadente, ut erat alio versutior et acerbior, Galfridum circumvenientes ceperunt, pedibusque strictissime compeditis in secretum recessum,[2] custodiis adhibitis, retruserunt. Gislebertus autem, tam infortunate cognato amisso, ad comites regressus, mœstuosis suspiriis quid ei infortunii accidit enarravit. Nec tamen illi ob hoc desperati, sed constantius animati, seque in invicem cohortantes, et ad eum liberandum unanimiter conspirantes Battam petierunt, accersitoque præsule sub fide et jurejurando, liberam ei et indemnem egressionem salvamque reditionem spoponderunt.[3] Episcopus tandem, ut innocens qui credit omni verbo, ut alter Jacob qui simpliciter habitat in domo, dolose ab impiis

The people of Bristol endeavour to seize Bath.

Geoffrey Talbot is taken prisoner.

The friends of Geoffrey get possession of the

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[1] The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 108, names William Hoset, but omits Lacy.

[2] *secreto recessu*, D.

[3] This renders the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* intelligible. The Continuator speaks as if the bishop and Geoffrey were at once exchanged.

A.D. 1138.

— bishop of Bath by fraud, and threaten to hang him if Geoffrey is not surrendered.

lætanter suscipitur: statimque in Evangelii præconem, in sacrosanctæ mensæ Dei ministrum, sacrilegas manus injecerunt, reverendumque fidei et religionis communis satorem, qui horrei Dominici triticum [solet][1] expendere, qui arcam Dei illudque divinum manna gestat in pectore, conviciis impudicis irrogantes, suspendio ni Galfridum redderet extinguere minitarunt. Porro episcopus in tribulationis angustia positus, cum adversarii nec pietate, nec humani animi compassione propter ejus anxietatem emollirentur, sed nec sui intra muros recepti, (capto siquidem episcopo interius se recipientes conclusis portis ad muros defendendos concurrerant,) remedium illi conferre prævalerent, temerariæ illorum satisfaciens præsumptioni, virum compedes exutum reddi præcepit, in hoc nimirum commodo usus et salubri consilio; quia si illum in manus regis contradendum ut ceperat reservaret, supplicio eum vel vitæ periculo exposuisset, seipsum autem contumeliis afficiendum vel vita privandum præbuisset. Neque enim sanum erat, aut episcopi officium, malum pro malo reddere, utque nocentibus noceret ipse nocens existere. Sed neque ratio expetebat, ut alium contumeliando seipsum contumeliis adjiceret, cum constet neminem seipso sibi esse propinquiorem, neque pro alterius anima suam aliquatenus commutare debere. Reddito denique viro, immo, ut verius dicam, occulta Dei dispositione ad animæ suæ supplicium in futurum reservato, quatinus quanto abundantius et diutius crudeliora ageret, crudelius postmodum torqueretur, cœpit episcopus pastorali[2] tunc demum utens auctoritate fidem repromissam reposcere, juramenti sacramentum ubinam esset requirere, utrorumque violatores eos astruere, nec prospere eis aliis in factis succedere,[3] qui, reverentia et pudore amisso, Deum videbantur propter hoc offendisse. Hæc episcopo prosequente, asserebant nec juramentum ei fecisse, nec

The bishop orders Geoffrey to be given up.

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[1] Not in D., but apparently needed.

[2] *pastorale*, D.

[3] An unrevised sentence, but the meaning is clear.

A.D. 1138.

The friends of Geoffrey refuse to liberate the bishop.

fidem pepigisse, cum omni sane sapienti ratum sit, nec perjuros jurare debere, nec qui fide carent fidem alicui posse donare. Quæ ideo dicebant, ut episcopum de ignorantia notarent, qui nimium nimiumque perjuris et perfidis plus justo credebat.

Outrages of the people of Bristol.

Bristoenses igitur ad omne facinus effrenes, ubicumque vel regis vel eorum, qui regi favebant, terras vel possessiones audierant, tanquam famelica canum rabies ad oppositum cadaver illuc avide et maturanter cursitare; juga boum, greges pecudum, quicquid concupiscibile vel oculus cernebat, vel cor ambitiosum affectabat, rapere et abducere, vendere et consumere. Ubi vero quæ in circuitu, et quasi sub manu eorum erant, in perditionis barathrum redacta videbantur et adnullata, in omnibus Angliæ partibus sicubi pecuniosos vel opulentos audierant, celerrime adesse, nunc viribus abreptos, nunc fraudibus seductos, oculis fasciatis, ore etiam obducto,[1] vel cum massa aliqua illic urgenter impressa, vel cum machinula ad formam asperi freni capistrata et dentata, cæcos secum deducere, tandemque in medio Bristoæ, quemadmodum de latrunculis Hilisei legimus, inductos, aut jejuniis macerare, aut suppliciis addictos[2] usque ad novissimum quadrantem quicquid possederant ab eis exigere. Alii technam excogitantes versutiorem, ubi Anglia quietior, pax abundantior, populus otio et securitati acclinior,[3] in die per tritam et populosam viam nunc huc, nunc illuc itinerare; nomen suum, personas, et officium mentiri; non arma, non notabilem habitum, non impia modumque excedentia verba more prædonum proferre; sed humilem vultum, mediocrem incessum, lenes omnique mansuetudine permulsos sermones prætendere, sicque se falsis commentis novæ fucationis hypocritas reddere, quoad usque de spe sua minime frustrati, vel divitem sibi forte occurrentem, vel ubivis locorum furtim ablatum, ad totius Angliæ novercam, Bristoam,

4 Reg. xiii. 20.

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[1] *obdurato*, D.

[2] *addictis*, D.

[3] *acclivior*, D.

A.D. 1138.

Distracted and dangerous state of England.

adducerent. Hic autem coloratæ deceptionis modus, hoc hypocriticæ simulationis figmentum, per omnes fere Angliæ fines adeo inolevit, ut vix esset civitas vel viculus, ubi fraudulentiæ hujus molimenta non exercerent, ubi turpissimi hujus latrocinii vestigia non relinquerent. Unde nec regiæ pacis vias secure ut solebant incedere, nec homo se homini fidenter ut solebat concredere: sed ubicumque alter alterum in itinere conspicabatur, totus protinus contremiscere, meticulose visum effugere, vel prope in silva vel in divortio aliquo [latere],[1] usquequo, resumpto tandem spiritu, viam cœptam tutior carperet et audacior.

The king marches to Bath, as though about to attack Bristol.

Interview of the king and the bishop of Bath.

The bishop excuses himself for the escape of Geoffrey.

Ubi igitur fama auribus regis insonuit, Bristoenses et publico raptu et clandestinis, ut dictum est, furtis terram turbasse, licet in aliis regni negociis persequendis[2] undique pulsaretur, ex omni Anglia militia convocata, quasi Bristoam obsessurus improvise Battam advenit. Episcopus de adventu illius præmonitus foras civitatem advenienti occurrit. Cumque rex primo loquendi in capite se adversus eum indignatum ostenderet, eo quod Galfridum sui insidiatorem, pacis et patriæ perditorem,[3] tam libere et indemne de custodia sua prodire permisisset, testibus sibi consentientibus regi satisfecit, injuriis se inhonestatum, suspendio proximum, sceleratorum violentiam inhonore perpessum, lenitumque tandem et ad solitam amicitiam reductum Battam introduxit. Considerans rex civitatis ambitum, totumque perlustrans in gyrum, locum inexpugnabilem et ad resistendum habillimum animadvertit; ideoque muros altius sustolli, propugnacula in devexum[4] surrigi, frequentique militum adhibita custodia ad Bristoenses coarctandos diligenter et caute jussit observare. Inde ad impostricem Bristoam digrediens, prope civitatem conduxit exercitum, baroni-

Preparations for the defence of Bath and siege of Bristol.

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[1] Dr. Sewell alters to *silvam* . . . *divortium aliquod*, but this leaves the sentence incomplete.

[2] *persistendis*, D.

[3] *perlitorem*, D.

[4] *devectum*, D.

A.D. 1138. busque percontatis et in commune consultis, quanto gravius eam obsidere, quibus ingeniis valentius expugnare, quot modis expeditius posset degravare, varium et incertum, secundum quæ ei iste fidenter, illi fraudulenter obsequebantur, recepit consultum. Alii autem suadebant, ubi civitatis ostium arctatis faucibus angustius coibat, plurimam grandium lapidum, lignorum, et cespitum molem injectare, quatinus aditu portus obducto,[1] et suffragium eorum ex remigantium labore, in quo præcipue confidebant, adesse desisteret,[2] et fluvii circa civitatem, ut dictum est, proluentes, intercepto cursu retrorsum in seipsos crescerent, inque stagnum ad instar pelagi latum et profundum sese recolligentes, citissimam civitati prætenderent submersionem. Laudabant etiam, ex duabus civitatis partibus castellis constructis, ingressus eorum et egressus, qui pontibus frequentabantur, arceret, ipse vero exercitu ante comitis castellum aliquanto tempore detento, fame, diversisque passionibus inhabitantes afficeret. Sed istorum sanum acceptumque consilium alii pervertentes, et illi maxime, qui cum illo ficte militantes comiti amplius favebant, e converso consulebant, opus otiosum, laboremque esse infructuosum abyssum pelagi lignorum vel lapidum materia velle obstruere; cum evidentissimum esset, quicquid involveretur aut in ipsa profunditate cedere et absorberi, aut pontica exæstuatione fortiter inundante consumi omnia et adnullari.

Different opinions of the barons.

Horum igitur impulsu rex a Bristoensi desistens obsidione, quæcumque in circuitu illius erant vastatis et consumptis, prædatis et abductis, versus duo castella, Carith videlicet et Harpetreu, illud a [Radulfo[3]]

The king abandons the siege of Bristol, and directs expeditions

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[1] *obdurato*, D.

[2] *desisterent*, D.

[3] Duchesne omits the name, leaving a blank, probably corresponding to one in the MS. Certain MSS. of Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 261) supply the name *Radulfus*; others give *Willelmus*. Orderic. calls him *Radulfus Lupellus*.

A.D. 1138.

against Castle Cary and Harptree.

cognomine Luvel, istud a Willelmo filio Joannis possessum, expeditionem promovit. Erant autem amicitiæ nexibus cum comite copulati, fide et jurejurando firmanter unificati, pactionibus et hominio adeo confœderati, ut cum celerius percepissent illum adversus regiam potestatem velle insurgere, et ipsi in eum præsto et conspiranter secum insurgerent. Audientes denique regem in Bristoam castra promovisse, diutinamque obsidionem ibi protelaturum arbitrantes, pollicitam comiti fidem unanimiter reddiderunt, omnesque circa se provincias gravi infestatione permoventes, quicquid adversi poterant ubique gentium inferebant. Sed rex percitus illuc adventans valide et infeste castellum Cari obsedit, balistisque ignem et lapidum imbres inter inclusos, adempta cessatione, discutientibus,[1] usque ad escarum indigentiam vexatos, sub pacis tandem concordiæque confœderatione sibi cedere coegit. Neque enim resistere diutius poterant dapibus subtractis imbecillati, maxime cum nec comes, spes illorum atque refugium, Angliam advenisset, neque Bristoenses, propter regis virtutem se multo superiorem, ad subveniendum eis possent accedere. Relinquens igitur Carith, datis dextris et acceptis, exercitum ad Arpetream convertit, ubi et castellum præstruere, militumque sufficientem copiam imponere curavisset,[2] nisi prudentum consilio esset ei suggestum, ex militibus, quos in Batta reliquerat, aptissime et hoc castellum gravari[3] posse: ideo potissimum, quia et inter utrosque recessus brevis et compendiosus esset discursus, sumptuosumque haberetur et nimis onerosum multis in locis multos pugnandi et obsidendi apparatus et exercitia moliri. Alio vero in tempore, cum juxta idem castellum cum infinita armatorum multitudine transitum habuisset, quasi cum exercitu Bristoenses obsessurus progrederetur, prodeuntes con-

Siege of Castle Cary.

Its surrender.

Expedition against Harptree.

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[1] *incutientibus?*

[2] *curavit*, D.

[3] *gravare*, D.

A.D. 1138.

The castle is somewhat later taken by Stephen by a surprise.

festim castellani, exercitum illius insequebantur, cum retrogradum rex citissime faciens reflexum, liberum equis cursum ad castellum indulsit, vacuumque pæne repperiens, istos portis ignem apponere, illos muris machinas et scalas aptare, omnes vero ad ingrediendum sedule et ferventer jussit insudare, quousque captum tandem, quippe cum a paucis resistebatur, custodiæ suorum et providentiæ tradidit.

The vigour and energy of Stephen.

Castellum denique Cari rex, ut præmissum est, triumphatus, ad diversas curas, ad multimoda negocia, quæ per omnes eum Angliæ partes sine intermissione huc illucque in diversa trahebant, armatus semper et cum exercitu properavit. Sicut enim de fabulosa illa Herculis legimus hydra, cujus uno resecto capite duo vel ampliora suboriebantur, sic et de regis Stephani laboribus specialiter sentiendum: quia, uno quolibet finito, alii graviores infinite succedebant, et ad singulos sufferendos ut alter Alcides invicte se semper et fortiter accingebat. Legi multimodas Saulis pugnas et labores, aliorum quoque regum innumeros conflictus et sudores; sed onerosæ illius gravedini, multimodis bellis et insidiis, vel ab aliis perpessis, vel a se aliis illatis, innumeris etiam angustiis, vel de suorum occasu vel de accidentibus infortuniis, nec comparandos[1] quidem; quia tanti fuerunt tamque stupendi illius labores, ut horrendi profecto et incredibiles legentibus videantur. Legi et plurimas Machabeorum pro patriæ quiete restauranda inquietudines, audivi et miras Alexandri contra extraneos decertationes, aliorum quoque regum pro tutandis subjectis certamina varia et afflictiones, sed multipliciores regis Stephani et multo graviores invenies tribulationes et agones, et tanto nimirum molestiores, quanto a familiaribus compatriotis et a suis sibique conjuratis inferebantur. Quia enim amicorum et popularium ægrior solet esse et acerbior persecutio, testatur Dominus, qui magis de illo quam de aliis conqueritur, qui edebat panes suos, et tamen levavit adversum se calcaneum suum. Hinc et Idem alibi, "Inimici," inquit, "hominis domestici "ejus." Inde etiam philosophus quidam, "Nulla," inquit, "pestis efficacior, quam familiaris inimicus." Audiat itaque, et appositam historiam plenius ediscat, qui miranda legere et nosse desiderat.[1] A.D. 1138. Matth. x. 36.

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[1] *comparandi*, D.

Gallant behaviour of the royal troops at Bath.

Milites itaque, quos rex in Battensi civitate ad Bristoenses impugnandos reliquerat, constanter se et strenue continere, muros et aggeres omni resistendi artificio inexpugnabiliter firmare, per alternas vigilias noctis conticinia cum armato milite circa muros expendere, quandoque et in ipso noctis silentio muros egressi, congruis in locis insidias texere. In die vero cum maxima vernaculorum et militum armata cohorte istas vel illas Bristoensium terras aggredi, nunc ante ipsas civitatis portas quasi per violentiam ingressuri subito, et horrende cum totis viribus apparere, domos et templa, et quicquid in ignem redigi poterat et consumi . . . . . .

[*Desunt iterum aliqua.*][2]

A.D. 1139.

. . . . immensa etiam amicorum et splendidissimi dominatus suffultus potentia,[3] secundus post regem in omnibus regni imperiis habebatur. Is itaque, licet regi carissimus, licet curiæ[4] palatinæ regnique negociis cunctis specialius esset præpositus, carius tamen et

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[1] Orderic. Vital., v., p. 113, says that in August, 1138, Shrewsbury was captured by Stephen from William FitzAlan. The *Annal. de Theokesb.*, p. 46, say that he took Bedford, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Wareham. A charter in the *Monasticon* (ed. 1655, i. p. 779) granted *apud Salopesberiam in obsidione*, is inconsistently dated *anno tertio* and also 1139.

[2] The lost leaves may have given an account of (i.) the matters detailed on p. 113 of the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*; (ii.) the council of Westminster on Dec. 13; (iii.) the election of Theobald; (iv.) the efforts of the queen and legate which ended in the peace with Scotland on April 9, 1139; and (v.) Stephen's visit to Worcester, the siege of Ludlow, &c. The narrative resumes from about June 1139.

[3] The person here meant is Roger bishop of Salisbury.

[4] *curæ*, D.

A.D. 1139. amicius supradictis regis Henrici filiis compatiebatur, eisque fidem firmissime servaturum, subsidiumque sedule impensurum, occulte tamen ne regem offenderet, pollicitans, castella sua, quæ ornatissime construxerat, tam armis quam escarum copiis munificentissime farciebat, prudenter et regi deserviens et temporis opportunitatem expectans, quo illis in Angliam adventatis virilius et expeditius subveniret. Quia etiam eorumdem adventum in proximo Angliam affuturum sperabat, sic enim illi frequentius de Normannia mandarant, copiosa innumerabilium militum stipatus frequentia, quasi ad subveniendum regi[1] eos ductitaret; quævis ad loca et maxime regis ad curiam procedere; magnam et stupendam amicorum multitudinem comitatui suo adjungere, quatinus et interim propter hoc regi complaceret, et quibus gratius libentiusque parebat, si advenissent, promptus continuo suffragator adesset. Huic autem sententiæ et nepotes illius, alter Lincolnensis alter Eliensis dicti episcopi, viri pompatici temeritatisque non audendæ præsumptores, assentiebantur; puramque et simplicem Christianæ religionis conversationem neglectui habentes, militiæ prorsus et pompæ seculari studium adeo accommodabant, ut quotiens ex condictu curiæ interessent, propter miram, qua undique stipabantur, militantium secum frequentiam admirabiles et ipsi cunctis probarentur. Hanc autem magnificam episcoporum gloriam comes Mellonensis, ceterique, qui regi arctius et privatius adhærebant, ægre ferentes, invidiæ facibus[2] hostiliter in eos effervebant, conceptamque malitiæ suæ flammam minime suffocantes, multis eos et indignis accusandi vituperiis apud regem criminabantur. Dicebant namque episcopos illos regni primatum, totam divitiarum pompam, omne hominum robur ad suam jactantiam et proficuum, non ad regium honorem possidere: castella nomina-

Pomp and regal magnificence of the bishops of Ely and Lincoln.

They incur the odium of the king's friends.

Charges brought against the bishops.

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[1] *ei*, D.

[2] *fascibus*, D.

A.D. 1139.

tissima construxisse,[1] turres et ædificia munitissima subvexisse, nec hoc ut regi regnum conferrent, sed ut regiam ab eo dignitatem surriperent, et ut coronæ suæ dignitati insidiarentur; quamobrem consultum fore, regiæque paci potissimum expedire, manus in illos injicere, quatinus castella, et quæcumque alia erant discordiæ et bellorum materia, ad honorem regis regi dimitterent; quæ vero ecclesiastici[2] propositi essent, religionis et juris episcopalis, in eorum deliberationem[3] sancte et catholice cederetur. Quod si rex, sicut suæ innitebatur virtuti et prudentiæ, ita et suis disponeret consiliis adquiescere, viros illos non ut episcopos, sed ut episcopalis mansuetudinis transgressores suspectosque pacis suæ et regni tranquillandi pervasores, privatim captos custodiæ manciparet, donec municipiis suis et quæ Cæsaris essent Cæsari redditis, a discordandi suspicione, quam eis imputabant, et rex securior et regio illius esset pacatior. Talibus rex perceptis, quæ illi continuo admonendi stimulo invide magis et suspiciose quam sancte et juste[4] suggerebant, in mentis positus angustia plurimum secum anxiabatur, tum quia grave erat et illicitum in ordinem sacerdotalem irreverenter insurgere, tum quia contrarium erat et injuriosum secreti sui conscios et palatii primos non exaudire. Tandem autem importuna illorum petitione et impulsione fractus, quam ei continuatim et procaciter inculcabant, ad sui honorem et regni quietudinem quæ postularant in episcopos committere indulsit: in hoc nimirum stultissimo, immo et insano devictus et impulsus consilio, quia si indecens est et vetitum qualemcumque hominem offendere, secundum illud, "Quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne fece-

The leniency of the king is a source of evil to him.

The difficult position of the king.

He consents to active measures against the bishops.

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[1] They held Sherborne, Devizes, Malmesbury, Salisbury, Newark, and Sleaford.

[2] *ecclesiastica*, D.

[3] *deliberatione*, D.

[4] *injuste*, D.

A.D. 1139. "ris," multo magis turpe est et inconcessum, in summos sacri altaris ministros irreverentiam violentiæ quoquomodo exhibere. Illud enim agere in hominum conspectu, magnum constat esse transgressum; istud vero perficere, præmaximum in ipsum Deum videtur et est peccatum. Unde et Dominus per prophetam, "Qui tangit," inquit, "vos, quasi qui tetigerit pupil- Zach. ii. 8. "lam oculi mei." Et in Evangelio, "Qui vos spernit, Luc. x. 16. "me spernit." Et ne præsumptiva hujus temeritatis inhonestatio, vel inhonesta concussio, erga sacri altaris comministros committeretur, sic eos per prophetam inhibet, dicens, "Nolite tangere christos meos." Ego Ps. civ. 15. autem fixe et audacter pronuncio, nulla celerius offensa ipsum acrius Deum offendi, quam si in officiales mensæ Illius sacristas vel dictu vel factu quispiam offendat. Et quidem filii Coræ, quia se tumide et arroganter in præpositos erexere, non solum a Deo reprobati, sed et vivi absorpti interiere. Sed et Saul, quia in Domini sacerdotes impie insurrexit et indiscrete, non solum in oculis Domini a regno dejectus, sed et bello crudelissime succubuit interemptus. His paucis ad contumaces ministrorum Dei contemptores corrigendos expositis, ad materiam tandem redeamus.

The followers of the bishops attacked and routed by the king's party.

Cum igitur episcopi cum summa, uti præmissum est, ambitione ad curiam convenissent, subito inter episcopales militesque regales exorta seditione, comite Mellonensi versuto cum quibusdam aliis instigatore, qui regiæ partis coadjutores intererant, et illi præcipue quicumque factionis præfatæ conscii videbantur, sumptis armis dispositisque agminibus, in episcoporum suffraganeos præcipitanter se impegerunt, istisque captis et illis interemptis, plurimis autem quaquaversum probrose effugatis omnibusque quæ secum detulerant in hostium manu ubique relictis, ad regem tandem, quasi de inimicis triumphati, redierunt, consilioque malignantium in commune habito, ad episcopos, tanquam ad regiæ majestatis transgressores capiendos,

A.D. 1139.

The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln taken prisoners (at Oxford, June 24).

The bishop of Ely escapes to Devizes castle, and prepares to resist the king.

facto grege maturarunt.[1] Et illi quidem audita suorum probrosa dispersione, fugæ, ut fama erat, consulebant, cum ecce regis satellites hospitia illorum armati subeuntes, Salesbiriensemque et Lincolniensem episcopum reperientes, omnibus quæ aderant cum violentia distractis, ad regem velociter adduxerunt.[2] Episcopus autem Eliensis, auditis quæ contigerant, ut erat animi versutioris agilitatisque expeditioris, celerrime aufugit, et ad castellum avunculi sui, quod Divisa dicebatur, itinere sub festinatione protenso, ad obsistendum regi viriliter se accinxit. Audiens vero rex Eliensem episcopum adversum se arma sumpsisse, quæ sibi prius dolose et æmulanter suggesta fuerant, vera credebat, tantoque in episcopos vehementiori indignatione succensus, ad eorum possidenda municipia totus intendit. Veniens itaque ad Divisas, quod erat Salesbiriensis episcopi castellum, mirando artificio sed et munimine inexpugnabili firmatum, duos secum episcopos custodiis adhibitis stricte servatos adduxit, jussitque ut locis ab invicem seclusi inhonestis, acribus macerarentur jejuniis, summusque illius antigraphus, Salesbiriensis episcopi filius,[3] captus jam et vinculis mancipatus ante ipsum castelli introitum alte suspenderetur, ni episcopus Eliensis, castello demum reddito, regiam virtutem intus susciperet. Episcopi itaque

Stephen proceeds to seize on the fortresses of the bishops.

Treatment of the bishops.

The king threatens to hang Roger, the son of the bishop of Salisbury.

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[1] This took place at Oxford, on 24 June. See Will. of Malmesb., 716 ; and Orderic. Vit., v., p. 120.

[2] A Duchy of Lancaster charter, No. 15, (Pub. Rec. O.) shows what followed. Stephen made certain grants "quamdiu habeo episcopa- "tum Lincolniensem in manu "mea," with a proviso, "si evenerit "quod A. episcopus mecum pacem "fecerit vel alius episcopus Lin- "colniæ substitutus fuerit."

[3] Roger, the chancellor of England, was son of Roger bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramesbury. Cf. Will. of Malmesb., 717. Orderic. Vital., v., p. 120, calls him "*Rogerius cognomento Pauper.*" Philip d'Harcourt took his office for a time; but in 1140–1 it passed to Robert de Gaunt, as appears from a charter of 1143 given by Thomas of Elmham, p. 382, and from the Ramsey Cartulary, p. 108 (*Bullæ*, A.D. 1140–41).

A.D. 1139.

The bishops, by the advice of their friends, surrender.

nimia anxietate afflicti animo maxime torquebantur, dum cunctis palam esset, diversis se et suos ludibriis sed et vitæ periculo exponendos, quoad[1] municipia sua, quæ summo studio construxerant, summo et amore complectebantur, in regis deliberationem committerent. Amicorum tamen consultu, qui, licet perrari, curiali frequentiæ intererant, fuit eis persuasum et fixe injunctum, quatinus ex inhonesta, qua detinebantur, custodia se subtrahentes, regis voluntati ex toto satisfacerent; maxime cum ea, quæ Cæsaris sunt, Cæsari sint reddenda, et nulla commutatio pro anima sit ponenda.[2]

Stephen gets possession of their castles and stores.

Council at Winchester.

All munitions of war belonging to the bishops declared to belong to the king.

Hoc igitur castello sed et aliis, quæ possederant, in manus regis contraditis, episcopi humiles postmodum et depressi omnemque inanis gloriæ pompositatem exuti, ad res ecclesiasticas simpliciter et ecclesiastice possidendas regrediebantur, concessis regi, licet ægre et invite, quascumque in castellis recondiderant, armorum et pecuniarum copiis. His itaque tali modo completis, inopinabilem regi fortunæ contigisse miramur eventum, cum suis ad regni tuitionem impensis pæne et exhaustis thesauris, in aliorum labores tam repente impegerit, quæque ad suum, ut fama erat, damnum et detrimentum in castellis congesta fuere, ad suum modo honorem et proficuum sine omni omnino labore indulta cessere. Fuit post hoc habitum in Anglia et firme statutum concilium,[3] ut quæcumque in quorumlibet episcoporum manus belli essent ac tumultus * receptacula, tanquam propria regis regi permitterentur. Ubi etiam rex de temeraria, quam in episcopos commisit, invasione publice accusatus, ratione valida,

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[1] *qui*, D.

[2] The king gained possession of the castles of Salisbury, Sherborne, Malmesbury, Newark, and Sleaford. Will. of Malmesb., 718; H. Hunt., 226.

[3] For details as to the council of Winchester see W. of Malmesb., p. 719. As to the date, *see* Preface. The order of the words here being awkward, Dr. Sewell inserts *concilium* after *Anglia*.

A.D. 1139.

The king does penance for his treatment of the bishops.

ut putavit, et efficaci se et suos excusavit. Sed quia ab omni clero juste provisum et discrete fuit dijudicatum, nulla ratione in christos Domini manus posse immittere, ecclesiastici rigoris duritiam humilitatis subjectione mollivit, habitumque regalem exutus, gemensque animo et contritus spiritu, commissi sententiam humiliter suscepit.

Insurrection of William de Mohun.

Eo in tempore Willelmus de Moiun, vir non solum honoris summi sed et generis conspicui, prævalidam in regem dissensionem commovit, inque suo, quod pulchre et inexpugnate in pelagi litore locarat, municipio,[1] nonnullis militum et peditum manipulis aggregatis, per universam illam Angliæ plagam ferox et turbine plenus discursare; omni in loco omni in tempore, surrepta pietate, crudelia operari; non solum vicinos, sed et remotissimos nonnullos adhibita violentia sibi subjugare; si qui resistebant, furto et rapina, igne et gladio infatigabiliter vexare; pecuniosos, quibuscumque occurrerat, vinculis et cruciatibus immisericorditer exponere; et hæc quidem agens, regnum pacis et quietis, jubili et exultationis, in discordiam et rebellium, in fletum et ejulatum commutare. Quæ tandem ubi regi notificata fuere, suis secum fautoribus in grandem exercitum conspiratis, ad reprimendam Willelmi ferocitatem festinato itinere tetendit. Cumque ante ipsum castelli constitisset ingressum, insuperabilem loci contuens munitionem, hinc, marino gurgite alluente, inaccessam, inde turribus et muris, vallo et propugnaculis fortissime firmatam, de obsidione ingerenda ex toto desperavit, acceptoque saniori consilio, in ipso hostium conspectu castellum offirmavit, unde et eos gravius arceret, et circumjacentem provinciam securius possideret.

His castle is blockaded.

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[1] Dunster castle, H. Hunt., p. 261.

A.D. 1139.

Præcepit quoque Henrico de Traceio, viro militari et in multis bellorum eventibus sæpius probato, quatinus vices suas agens, quoniam ad alia vocabatur, promptissime et constanter adversus hostes insurgeret. Et Henricus quidem, rege absente,[1] ex Bardestapula, civitate sua et ex regia sibi promissione indulta, strenue adversarios et virilissime impugnavit: adeo ut non solum solitos eorum per regionem discursus effrenesque prædantium inhiberet raptus, sed etiam centum et quatuor uno in tempore milites in equestri ex eis caperet congressione. Ipsumque Willelmum in tantum humilem reddidit et depressum, ut et eum ulterius impugnare desisteret, et patriam pacatiorem suæque inquietudinis omnino immunem relinqueret.

He is reduced to obedience.

Henry de Tracy reduces William Fitz Odo.

Nec modo Willelmum istum, sed et alios patriæ perversores regiæque pacis pertinaces impugnatores Henricus virtuose postea subegit, et maxime Willelmum filium Odonis, virum possessionibus et divitiis amplissime dilatatum,[2] qui suis sub pace parcissime fruens, numquam a vicinis, ut consuetudo est, fercula, nec a quolibet hominum suscepit munuscula, sed regno tandem, discordia ubique suboriente, turbato, in regem cum aliis et ipse insurrexit. Sed Henricus animose pro rege agens, cum frequentissimo eum conflictu imbecillasset, agnovit postremo veris ab exploratoribus castellum illius evacuatum, suos[que], qui inerant, commilitones ad prædandum destinatos; veniensque cum suis nocturno sub silentio, castellum, deceptis excubiis, furto subintravit, injectisque per turris fenestras facibus,[3] domos interiores in flammas convertit, ipsumque castelli dominum semiustulatum cum inopinabilis immensitatis thesauris inde abstrahens, quicquid possederat, rege favente, obtinuit. In multis

Surprises his castle by night.

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[1] *absentato*, D.

[2] *ditatum?*

[3] *fascibus*, D.

A.D. 1139.

autem et aliis negociis alacerrime Henricus et fidissime contra regis adversarios decertavit, quemadmodum suis in locis in præsenti historia plenius deflorabimus.

Baldwin de Redvers lands at Wareham.

Dum talibus diversis, ut dilucidatum est, modis Anglia turbaretur, Balduinus vir, ut dictum est, generosus, et ab Anglia, urgente rege, exulatus, cum florida et forti militum caterva apud civitatem Warham applicuit, susceptusque in Corsli[1] unum omnium Anglorum castellum tutissimum,[2] ad obsistendum regi, quem prope affuturum, fama revelante, perceperat, intrepide sese cum suis accinxit. Rex autem cum de * suo adventu a suis fautoribus præmoneretur, nullum moræ spatium indulsit, sed sibi consentientibus quamcitius advocatis, ante ipsum improvise castellum Balduinum obsessurus advenit, ibique tempore diutissimo commorans, dum hostes aut machinis affligere aut fame afficere putabat, consilio tandem suorum, soluta obsidione, virum illæse secedere permisit, eo quod audisset Robertum Glaorniæ comitem et sororem illius, obstinaces regni sui insecutores, viribus suis in unum adunatis, nuper Angliam ingressuros: neve, se et suis insciis, in regnum prorumperent sollicite procurans, omnes portuum aditus nocte diligenter et die observare præcepit, consultius sibi arbitrans et commodius, summos inimicorum quanto posset nisu impedire, quam ad Balduinum totus intendens, et ipse interdum ab aliis impediretur. Sed, ut scriptum est, Prov. xxi. 30. "non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est con-"silium contra Dominum," nec valet humani pectoris astutia devitare quod Dei disposuit providentia agere. Scimus quia[3] subditi aliquando pro suis, aliquando pro præpositorum flagellantur reatu: quia, ut notum est, et populus Israel, qui[4] Deum in multis offenderat, multis belli, oppressionibus, multis et pestilentiæ

Stephen besieges Corfe castle, but hearing of the approach of Maud and the earl of Gloucester suffers Baldwin to go free.

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[1] Thus in D. for *Corfe*.

[2] *uno . . . castello tutissimo*, D.

[3] For *quod*, as in the Vulgate.

[4] *quia*, D.

A.D. 1139. attritionibus sæpius vapulabat; et idem populus, pro regis David, sed et pro Salomonis adulterii offensione, hinc ab angelo percussus, inde fuit ab hostibus dirissime vexatus.

Quia igitur populus Anglorum luxu et otio dissolutus, luxuria et ebrietate enervatus, fastu et arrogantia tumefactus, Deum ad iram frequentius provocarat,[1] quia et eorumdem præpositi turpi hoc et enormi vivendi modo, sed et laxius et remissius in omnem illiciti amplexus coitum, in omnem edendi et bibitandi superfluum ructum, in quicquid denique viciosius, animæque habetur perniciosius, sine discretione, sine pœnitudine, proruebant, Deumque per hoc exasperabant sibique maxime indignari cogebant, non fuit mirum, si tot Anglia discordiæ dissensionibus, tantis bellorum tumultibus, tot ubique torquebatur sceleribus: cum constet, et verum sit, magna quælibet et horrenda peccata, non sine magnis expiari suppliciis, quantoque quispiam proclivior fuerit ad malum, tanto capacior erit ad perpetiendum malorum tormentum. Hinc etenim ad Babylonem dicitur, "Quantum "exaltata et in deliciis fuit, tantum date illi tor"mentum et luctum." Apocal. xviii. 7. Unde licet rex Stephanus plurimo militandi artificio ad regnum pacandum invigilaret, licet immenso decertandi sudore se et suos contra adversarios continuo fatigaret, non tamen ad votum profecit; quia, ut prophetæ utar verbis, in omnibus, quæ eis contigerant, non fuit aversus furor Domini, sed adhuc manus Illius extenta, semperque grave Domini onus magis et magis illos deprimens, Isaiah, ix. 21. usque dum completa essent peccata Amorreorum, et Æthiops mutaret pellem suam, immisericorditer ubique per Angliam semper induruit.

Robert earl of Gloucester and the empress Maud land at Arundel (Aug.30?). Dum igitur rex ad alia intenderet, ostiaque marina, custodiis strictissime adhibitis, arcere juberet, comes Glaorniæ Robertus, cum sorore sua comitissa Andegavensi, apud castellum Arundel applicitus, quasi hos-

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[1] *provocarant*, D.

A.D. 1139.

pitandi gratia, cum robusta militum manu susceptus fuit.[1] Concussa protinus Anglia et eximio pavore tremefacta, modis diversis agitabatur; quia quicumque clanculo vel aperte illi favebant, solito erant acriores et ad regem perturbandum accensiores; qui vero regi obtemperabant, quasi horrendo depressi tonitruo, humiliabantur. Ceterum rex per omnes, quæ sibi acciderant, bellorum et discordiarum adversitates indesperatus prorsus et infractus nullum moræ spatium indulsit, sed cum prompto et exercitato, quem secum ducebat, militantium cuneo, audacissime accelerans, ante ipsum insperate constitit castellum, ediscensque a veris exploratoribus, comitem cum suis evasum Bristoam sub nocturno silentio tetendisse, sororemque illius cum adductis secum Andegavensibus castello, ubi applicuit, delituisse, exercitus ibi parte ad providendum ne foras prorumperet relicta, ipse ad capiendum comitem totus intendit. Verum, cum voti sui compos minime existeret (non enim trita via sed secreto quodam diverterat limite) ad eos, qui in castellum[2] se retruserant, obsidendos retrogradum iter festinato inflexit. Episcopus autem Wintoniensis, audito eorum adventu, omnia protinus viarum diverticula militibus oppositis obstruere fecit, tandemque, ut fama erat, comiti occurrens, pacis et amicitiæ stabilius inter se pactione peracta, virum

The earl of Gloucester marches to Bristol; Stephen pursues him.

Failing in his object, he returns to besiege Maud in Arundel castle.

The bishop of Winchester is said secretly to favour

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[1] W. of Malmesb., p. 724, gives the date as Sept. 30, the council having separated on Sept. 1. The true text of the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* states that the empress came to Portsmouth "*mense Julio.*" The present chronicle (see p. 50 and p. 54) agrees with W. of M. in placing the arrival after—and evidently a considerable time after—the council. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 266, says immediately after the council. Orderic. Vital., v., p. 121, merely says "*in autumno,*" and R. of Torigni, i. 215, asserts that she came "*mense Augusto.*" This question is discussed in the preface to the present volume.

[2] *castello*, D.

A.D. 1139.

the escape of the earl.

indemnem abire permisit. Et hoc quidem vulgus, sed omni sane sentienti dubium constat et prorsus incredibile, ut frater regni fraterni invasorem cum osculo susciperet, eumque a suo prospectu ad regnum[1] in fratrem gravius promovendum illæsum dimitteret.

The bishop's advice.

Episcopus itaque, quasi comite non consecuto, cum multa equestrium ambitione regem adivit. Cumque animadvertisset regem ad obsidionem ingerendam animum offirmasse, inutile id et inacceptum tam sibi quam regno ait esse consilium. Si enim ex una Angliæ regione Andegavensem comitissam obsidere disponeret, germanus illius ad regnum perturbandum ex alia quam festinus parte insurgeret; ideoque consultius sibi esse et regno salubrius, ut ipsam ad fratrem damni immunem progredi permitteret, quatinus ambobus cum viribus suis in locum unum redactis, et facilius ad eorum cassandum conatum intenderet, et ad eos gravius insequendos cum omnibus suis expeditius esset. Datis igitur dextris, et sub jurejurando acceptis induciis, ad fratrem comitissam secedere permisit: tanto liberius eos expugnare confidens, quanto in unam regionis partem ambo redigebantur. Illi denique Bristoam adventantes[2] omnes regni barones adventum suum[3] certificare, ut eis intentius subvenirent pie et lacrymose deposcere, illis exenia danda istis prædia amplificanda promittere; omnibus vero prout poterant[4] omnibus commodis ad votum occurrere. Omnes itaque illorum fautores, qui regi antea, ficte tamen et dolose, deserviebant, rupto juramenti et hominii fœdere, quod ei pepigerant, ad illos convertebantur, conjunctique uno animo, una et conspiratione ad obsistendum regi animati, vehementissime in eum ubique irruebant.

He persuades the king to suffer the empress to join her brother.

Earl Robert and the empress arrive at Bristol.

They are joined by many supporters.

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[1] *bellum?*

[2] *adventanti,*

[3] *de adventu suo?*

[4] *poterat,* D.

A.D. 1139.

Insurrection of Brien Fitz-Count,

Fuit ea tempestate Brienus filius Comitis[1] vir genere clarus et dignitate magnificus, qui de illorum adventu eximie lætificatus, firmato inexpugnabili, quod penes Walengefordiam habuerat, castello, cum militum ingentissima copia adversus regem vive et constantissime rebellavit. Sed et Milo ille primas Glaornensis, de quo superius paucula prælibavimus, mentita quam regi pepigerat fide, tenacissime se contra eum erexit, susceptisque quotquot ad eum confluxerant regis adversariis, omnem in circumjacentibus comitatui Glaorniæ provinciis depopulationem exegit. Et nunc quidem de remotissimis Angliæ finibus innumerabilis multitudinis animalia abducere, nunc quos circa se fide et hominio regi allectos prænoverat, igne et gladio validissime vexare; illic juges regi suisque confraganeis insidias texere, istic eorundem terras et possessiones usque ad solitudinem crudelissime nudare. Non solum igitur isti, sed et alii nonnulli, qui prius cum rege fide et jurejurando confœderabantur, nunc pacis et concordiæ dissoluto annexu effrenate in eum ingerebantur, omnique truculentia diversis in Angliæ partibus sævientes, quicquid gravius aut scelestius excogitarant ubique locorum impie committebant. Sed rex Stephanus in omnibus, quæ undatim ingruebant, adversis inexsuperatus prorsus et infractus, viribus suis in grandem exercitum collectis, singulos audacter tentabat affligere. Et primum quidem Walengefordiam cum indicibili veniens multitudine, pertinaci eos et inseparabili[2] claudere obsidione proposuit, cum utiliori

and of Milo of Gloucester.

Stephen marches against Wallingford.

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[1] There was a "*Brientius filius* "*comitis de Insula*" (Wight), who was dead in 1140, and whose sons were lepers and were tonsured (*Monast.*, ed. 1655, i. 557). The Brien here referred to, whom the Peterborough chronicle calls "Brian "þes eorles sunu Alein Fergan," witnessed a charter of Milo of Gloucester at Bristol in 1141 (*Monast.* (ed. 1830), vi. 137). To him Gilbert Foliot wrote a letter (No. lxxix.) in or after 1139, which, by showing that he was a friend of the empress from childhood, favourably explains a passage on p. 85.

[2] *insuperabili ?*

A.D. 1139.

Is dissuaded from besieging the castle.

baronum præventus consilio, quod animo conceperat ad tempus prætermisit. Dicebant enim, ut res se habebat, castellum illud munimine insuperabili[1] tutissime firmatum, escas ad plurimorum annorum suffragia copiosissime ingestas, pubem validissimam invictissimumque militiæ robur intus susceptum, nec posse ibi sine maximo sui suorumque detrimento diutius immorari; cum palam esset hinc suum a castellanis exercitum quotidianis excursibus gravissime turbandum, inde ab adversariis undecumque in eum conspirantibus clanculo vel aperte facillime infestandum. Quamobrem commodum aiebant et suscipiendum consilium, ut duobus ibi constructis castellis suisque ad obsistendum sufficienter impositis, ad alios expugnandos aliorsum diverteret, quatinus et istos per hoc urgentius coarctaret, et ad aliorum debilitandum conamen promptissimus suffragator et insperatus adesset.

On his march against Trowbridge he takes certain castles:

Cerne is stormed:

Malmesbury surrenders (before Oct. 21).

Robert Fitz-Hubert is taken.

Duobus igitur sub festinatione erectis castellis, cum omni expeditione versus municipium, quod Trobriga dicitur, tetendit, quod Umfridus de Boun, consilio et incitatu Milonis, ad regi adversandum defensione inexpugnabili firmarat. Verum dum iter carperet propositum, mirandus ei fortunæ contigit eventus, quia et castellum de Cernei, quod ad seditionem in eum concitandam Milo construxerat, adhibita captum violentia obtinuit, et municipium civitatis Malmesbiriæ, artificiose et inexpugnanter patratum, redditum suscepit, intercepto in eo Roberto filio Huberti cum suis, viro crudelissimo nullique in malitia et scelere æquando.[2] Verum quoniam varius est eventus belli, et nunc Fortuna secula nostra rotans istum ad summa sustollit, et mox eundem ad inferiora dejicit, post

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[1] *inseparabili*, D.

[2] According to Malmesbury, p. 726, this Robert, having taken the castle from the bishop of Salisbury, was, after holding it less than a fortnight, driven out by Stephen. He surrendered, joined the empress (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 125), and in March 1140 (W. of M., p. 733) surprised Devizes. He was a Fleming. See p. 65.

A.D. 1139.

faustissimum hujus ominis eventum, subitum ei et insperatum subsecutum est infortunium. Dum enim cœptum iter versus Trobrigam legeret, Milo, vir acerrimi animi, et ad magna invadenda impiger et perpromptus, cum eximio militantium robore Walengefordiam noctu advenit, militesque, quos rex ibi reliquerat, fortiter et animose impugnatos sibi tandem cedere coegit: illisque vulneratis et istis occisis, omnibus autem reliquis captis et vinculatis, cum insigni victoriæ titulo ad propria remeavit. Et ideo plane tam damnosus hujus infortunii casus regi et suis isto in loco contigit, quia ex quadam ibi ecclesia, ex domo scilicet religionis et orationis, castellum fieri, sanguinisque et belli recessum erigi permisit. Quia enim ecclesia ad hoc constituitur, ut domus Dei, domus orationis sit et vocetur, ipsum certissime Deum offendit, qui bellantium eam habitaculum efficit. Unde quia, ut scriptum est, nullum peccatum impunitum, et mensura, qua mensus fuerit quis, ei remetietur, non absurde sentimus, si ideo regi hoc accidisse confirmamus, quia pacis et salutis domum in belli et discordiæ commutavit asylum.

While Stephen is marching to Trowbridge his forces at Wallingford are routed by Milo.

atth. vii.

Milo igitur tam gloriose adversarios triumphatus, ad regem et suos conturbandos totus intendit, omnesque, quorum possessiones rex depopularat, vel qui ei adversari quavis de causa contendebant, Glaorniam asciscens, tum quia locus munitus et omni copia erat refertissimus, tum quia multitudo ex diversis locis in unum conflata tutius quæque et avidius invaderet, plurima insigniter et victoriose peregit. Ut enim maximas illas et innumeras, quas undecumque contrahebat, prædas, ut horrendas villarum et urbium, quas in solitudinem redigebat, cremationes, ut multimodos viros loco et officio diversos, istos gladio addictos, illos ad redimendos loris innexos, reticeamus, pro quibus omnibus dolendum magis est, quam aliquid enarrandum, solum illud digne memorandum

Milo collects large forces at Gloucester and harasses Stephen.

A.D. 1139.

Seizes the royal castles in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.

existimo, quod castella, quæ rex in Glaornensi vel Herefordensi locarat provinciis, quorum municipes inauditam in plebem[1] exercebant tyrannidem, alia vive et virtuose capta subvertit, alia ad possidendum suis permisit; istis partim captis partim a castello prorsus effugatis, ut apud civitatem Wincelcumbæ, illis vive et virtuose superatis ac redditis, ut apud Cernei et civitatem Herefordiæ. Illud quoque nequaquam prætereundum, regis Henrici pignoribus adeo eum fidum, adeo fuisse unanimem, ut non solum eos coadjuverit, sed et ipsam Andegaviæ comitissam cum suis suscipiens, vicem ei patris actu et consilio semper exhibuit, quousque tandem capto et incarcerato rege, sicut in sequentibus plenius enodabimus, totius eam Angliæ reginam effecit.

His fidelity and devotion to the empress.

Stephen besieges Trowbridge (about the end of October).

Interea[2] rex Trobrigam adveniens, cum locum ipsum officiosissime firmatum, ad omnem qui includebantur fortunam paratissimos, nec sine gravi difficultate cessuros conspexisset, ad machinas operose componendas, ad obsidionem pertinaciter inferendam insudavit. Sed frustra nisus, quia nec ipsi machinis atterebantur, nec obsidione, licet valida et prolixa, aliquatenus flectebantur. Quamobrem baronibus, qui in obsidione aderant, aliis ob moram tædiosam vehementer afflictis, aliis autem ficte secum et fraudulenter laborantibus, omnibus vero ne comes Glaorniæ, contractis in unum viribus, in eos repente irrueret formidantibus; rex, consultu suorum, Lundoniam[3] remeavit, quatinus,

Raises the siege and returns to London,

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[1] *plebe*, D.

[2] Apparently immediately after taking Cerne and Malmesbury (see p. 58, and W. of M., p. 726), and therefore probably about the end of October.

[3] From London very probably Stephen went to Oxford, for early in December 1139 (*C. Fl. W.*, p. 121) he marched from thence to Worcester and Leominster, returning, it is said, to Worcester before Dec. 3, but the dates seem wrong. From thence he went to Oxford and Salisbury. This would most likely be after Dec. 11, for he obviously went thither to seize the bishop's property. His foray round

viribus ibi innovatis, acrius postmodum quo fortuna vocaret accederet, et securius quæque invaderet. Reliquit autem in castello, quod Divisa dicebatur, ad Trobrigam infestandam, eo quod prope esset, succinctissimam ad Martios congressus militiam, illisque et istis, alternis sese incursionibus mutuo impugnantibus, totam circumjacentem provinciam in miseram solitudinem ubique redegerunt.

A.D. 1139.

leaving a body of troops at Devizes.

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Iisdem temporibus Rogerius Salesbiriensis episcopus quod vitæ habuit moriens expiravit; qui sicut divitiarum gloria prudentisque animi ingenio omnes regni magnates superavit, ita a luxuria fractus et prorsus enervatus, quicquid in se virtutis continuit sola sorduit immunditia. Reliquit autem in ecclesia Salesbiriæ infinitam nummorum quantitatem, sed et vasa plurima ductili aurificum opere, ista ex argento, illa ex auro artiste et gloriose cælata: quæ omnia in usus regis, ipsis canonicis faventibus, immo et ultro offerentibus, cesserunt, et alia multa, quæ episcopus in unum thesaurizarat; ignorans, secundum Psalmistam, cui congregaret ea: similis et Evangelico illi diviti, cui dicitur, "Hac nocte recipient animam tuam a te; quæ "parasti, cujus erunt?" Rex vero partem pecuniæ ad ecclesiam cooperiendam, partem ad canonicorum relevandam necessitatem indulsit, terrasque ecclesiarum et possessiones, quas episcopus in proprios usus redegerat, deque dominabus, sublatis pastoribus, ancillas effecerat, libere et ecclesiastice ipsis ecclesiis reddidit, pastoribusque canonice inthronizatis, duas ecclesias, Malmesbiriensem et Abbesbiriensem, ut fuerant antiquitus, splendide restauravit.

Death of Roger, bishop of Salisbury (Dec. 11).

His character and wealth.

Ps. xxxviii. 6.

Luc. xii. 20.

A.D. 1140.

The king disposes of it to religious uses.

Restores the churches of Malmesbury and Amesbury.

Audiens episcopus Eliensis avunculum defunctum, quod animo dudum conceperat, adversus regem agere

The bishop of Ely revolts.

Dunster (Malmesb., p. 726) perhaps followed. He kept Christmas at Salisbury, and then passed on to Reading, where he distributed some of the bishop's money, as shown below.

A.D. 1140. studuit, quatinus et injurias in avunculum a rege, ut dictum est, irrogatas, in eum quanto nisu posset vindicaret, et regis Henrici filios ad regnum maturius consequendum pro posse adjuvaret. Armis igitur Evangelicis militiaque ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ prorsus derelicta, virum sanguineum[1] induit, militibusque ad quodlibet facinus promptis, opere et animo expeditis, in Eli sua pecunia conductis, confines omnes, et eos maxime qui regi consentiebant,[2] turbabat. Est autem Eli insula delectabilis, grandis, et populosa, terra fertili et pascuosa fœcunda, stagnis et paludibus immeabiliter undique circumcincta, nec nisi in una sui parte itineribus pervia, ubi et limes arctissimus viam strictissimam in insulam dirigit, castellumque, in medio limine ex antiquo mirifice in ipsis aquis infixum, totam insulam unum et inexpugnatum efficit castellum. Huc itaque rex,[3] cum de incepta episcopi seditione vera percepisset, cum grandi exercitu festinus advenit, considerataque mira et insuperabili loci munitione, quomodo se cum suis ingereret, plures anxie consulebat. Datoque tandem consilio et approbato, ut plures naviculas in locum,[4] quo gurges circumfluens insulæ parcior apparebat, pariter aggregaret, pontemque super illas ex transverso positas, craticulis in longum substratis, usque ad insulæ ripas dirigeret, rex, non minimum gavisus, opus maturanter fieri præcepit; tandemque hoc modo ponte super naves ingeniose constructo, usque ad ulteriores insulæ ripas ipse cum suis festinanter devenit. Transitis autem tali artificio aquis, restabant et adhuc limosæ quædam paludes, in quibus vadum fundosum ad transmeandum habile regi latenter fuit ostensum. Aiunt monachum quendam provinciæ Eli pergnarum, et aquæ transmeandæ præ-

Description of Ely.

Stephen marches against Ely.

Constructs a bridge of boats.

Penetrates into Ely by a ford,

which is shown him by a monk,

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[1] *sanguinum*, D.

[2] *consentiebantur*, D.

[3] Apparently marching direct from Reading. See *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 122.

[4] *loco*, D.

A.D. 1140.

scriptorem et vadi in paludibus monstrandi ducem fuisse et ostensorem, quem et postea ob hujus servitii gratiam non Petri sed Simonis potius clave in ecclesiam introductum, abbatemque Ramensem[1] vocatum vidimus, multosque postea ob injustam ecclesiæ inductionem labores et afflictiones, Deo juste de occultis judicante, pertulisse cognovimus. Sed de his in sequentibus. Rex autem ad interiora insulæ progrediens, exercitum quaquaversum discurrere permisit, captisque nonnullis episcopi militibus, sed et spoliis magni pretii et thesauris miræ multitudinis repertis, castellulum, quod erat in introitu insulæ, ubi et episcopi se milites receperant, obtinuit et accepit: habitaque mire et gloriose de adversariis victoria, plurimum hostibus per Angliam terrorem incussit. Episcopus autem vix regiam evadens virtutem, pauper et depressus Glaorniam aufugit, ubi omnes a rege infestati quasi in sentinam convenerant, didicitque egenus, quod discere nequit dives et superbus, quia deponit Dominus potentes de sede, et qui se arroganter exaltat, usque ad imum depressum humiliat.

who, for his services, was afterwards made abbot of Ramsey.

Stephen ravages the island and storms a fortress.

The bishop with difficulty escapes to Gloucester.

Dum hæc in Eliensi agerentur provincia,[2] Willelmus filius Ricardi, vir stemmatis illustrissimi, quique comitatus Cornubiensis amplissimum sub rege habebat

William Fitz-Richard, earl of Cornwall, revolts,

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[1] The Chronicle of Ramsey states that a flagitious monk of that abbey, named Daniel, bribed Stephen to appoint him, but was quickly dispossessed on appeal to Rome. The Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xviii. says: "*Daniel abbas. Iste supplantavit* "*ipsum Walterum de abbatia sua,* "*et confusus recessit a curia Ro*-"*mana.*" The *Monast. Anglic.*, iv. 142, quoting from Royal Soc. MS. 51 (? 29), says that Geoffrey de Mandeville and William de Saye with Daniel, "*quodam falsi nomi*-"*nis ac tonsuræ monacho,*" invaded Ramsey Abbey. This would be in 1143. The names of abbot Walter and "*Danielis monachi*" occur together in the Ramsey Chartulary (i., p. 253, *l.* 7) in a peculiar way. The form *Ramensem* may be Duchesne's error for *Ramesiensem.* Dr. Sewell alters, without authority, to *Rumensem,* but Romsey was a nunnery.

[2] We miss here an account of the events round Worcester in the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* p. 124, but we have details as to Cornwall not there given.

A.D. 1140. principatum, fidei et jurisjurandi sacramentum regi promissum dolose violavit, susceptoque Reinaldo,[1] filio regis Henrici, in castellum,[2] quod regiæ semper erat potestatis et juris, filiam suam ei despondens, totius Cornubiæ comitatum commisit. Et Reinaldus quidem, tanti principatus nacto dominatu, fortiter magis quam providenter se continere, omnes violentia et armis ad nutum sibi inflectere, castella ubicumque aderant, suis impositis, firmare, regis, quotquot e proximo fuerant, fautores gravissime cœpit opprimere. Adeoque præsumptuose[3] cœptæ temeritatis prævaluit insania, ut nec ecclesiis parceret, nec suos aliquatenus prædones a rebus ecclesiasticis cohiberet. Quapropter justissimo non multum post divinæ ultionis verbere vidimus circumventum, quia episcopus Esoniensis gladio eum anathematis perculsum ab ecclesiæ limine semovit, et uxor illius furiis agitata, non simplicem in ejus amplexus sexum, sed dirum et horrendum offerebat dæmonium: terramque, quam a proditore socero susceperat, a rege non multo post surreptam, tempore plurimo amisit,[4] solumque quod inhabitabat castellum, vix et cum angustia, prævalentibus in eum adversariis, obtinuit. Audiens siquidem rex et in patria Cornubiensi rebellium, ut præmisimus, adversum se concitatum, festinus illuc et improvisus advenit, resumptisque, quæ Reinaldus invaserat, castellis, Alano comiti, viro summæ crudelitatis et doli, patriam commisit: illoque inibi cum promptissima militum cohorte relicto, jugem cum Reinaldo, usque dum inde abigeretur, jussit habere conflictum.

and marries his daughter to Reginald, the son of king Henry.

Violence of Reginald;

he is excommunicated by the bishop of Exeter;

his sufferings.

Stephen recovers Cornwall, and grants it to earl Alan.

Robertus autem Glaornensis comes, sed et fortissima illa, quæ Glaorniam incolebat, adversariorum regis militia, percipientes tandem fines Cornubiæ regem subintrasse, eximie lætabantur: quia et in eum facilius

Robert earl of Gloucester attacks Cornwall.

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[1] See W. of Malmesb., p. 732.

[2] *castello*, D.

[3] *præsumptuosæ*, D.

[4] Less than a year. See p. 72.

A.D. 1140.

irruere, utpote in extremiore Angliæ parte ab exercitu semotum, et si Deus conamini suo tam fortunate aspiraret, etiam ibi comprimere autumabant. Collecto itaque immenso militum robore, regem impugnaturi cum grandi apparatu Cornubiam properarunt, cum ecce nuncii aures illorum insperate perculerunt, affirmantes regem felici auspicio cunctis perpetratis tandem redeuntem, et cum ingentissima mirandæ militiæ expeditione inter eos sub oculis affuturum. Nec enim falso aut frivolose commenta nuncii proferebant, quia rex de comitis adventu secrete præmonitus, suis ad confligendum docte et provise dispositis, omnibusque Damnoniæ baronibus in auxilium suum ascitis, quasi ipsa die cum comite congressurus approperabat: jamjamque inter utrosque paucula distante itineris intercapedine votis fecisset satis, ni comes, sano suorum consilio accepto, desistere persuasus, iter retrogradum versus Bristoam suam velocius relegisset. Regrediens itaque rex sine sui vel suorum impedimento, plurima adulterina castella, alia sola adventus sui fama vacuata, alia viribus virtuose adhibitis conquisita, subvertit: omnesque circumjacentes provincias, quas castella inhabitantes intolerabili infestatione degravabant, purgavit tunc omnino, et quietissimas[1] reddidit.

Receives news of the king's return and successes.

The earl of Cornwall retreats to Bristol.

Prope hoc tempus[2] Robertus filius Huberti,[3] vir genere Flandrensis, animo et actu fraudulentus, qui, ut de Evangelico judice dicitur, nec Deum nec homines reverebatur, ex Roberti comitis militia furtive proficiscens (erat enim illius stipendiarius) castellum regis, quod Divisa dicebatur, ornanter et inexpugnabiliter muratum, tensis a muri propugnaculo scalis usque ad imum ex corio firme et ingeniose contextis, noctu

Luc. xviii. 4.

A Brabançon, Robert Fitz Hubert, seizes on Devizes (March 26).

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[1] *quietissima*, D.

[2] W. of Malmesb., p. 733, gives the date.

[3] As to this man see p. 58, note 2. We here have him once more taking a castle, not as a partisan, but as a freebooter. He was related to William of Ypres. *C. Fl. W.*, p. 125.

A.D. 1140. occupavit. Cumque se et suos, deceptis manubiis, interius conjecisset, quotquot ex parte regis inerant, secure soporantes nec talia suspicantes, comprehendit, exceptis paucis, qui sub intempesta nocte, clamore subeuntium exorto, repente se in turrim eminentiorem[1] contulerunt: sed quia nec escas secum contulerant, nec suffragatores a rege advenerant, paucis diebus decursis turrim reddiderunt.

The earl of Gloucester sends his son to take the castle. He is denied admittance.

Hujus igitur tam egregii facinoris fama se latius dispergente, comes Glaornensis filium cum copioso militum agmine, tanquam Roberti conamen astipulaturus, transmisit: sed ille verbis eum injuriosis aspernans, minis quoque intermixtis a portis abigens, vilificatum ad patrem remisit, affirmans, ut castellum possideret non fortiori se committeret, castellum se conquisisse. Et quidem ita se res habebat, ita et versipellis ille versute cogitabat, quatinus nec ex parte comitis se continens, nec ex consortio regis se profitens, suæ gentis viribus abundanter intro receptis, omnem circumquaque provinciam aut dolo deciperet, aut viribus obtineret. Sed malitia illius in seipsum Deo mirabiliter judice fuit reflexa, quia secundum illam divinitus prolatam sententiam, "Per quæ peccat "quis, per hæc et torquebitur." Quia enim alios circumvenire dolose attentabat, et ille dolo circumventus, captus, et catenatus, diversis suppliciis fatigatus interiit. Fuit siquidem in vicino Joannes[2] quidam, vir itidem technosus et ad magna fraudulenter commovenda paratissimus, castellum tutissimum ex regio jure violenter possidens, Merlebergam nominatum. Quod Robertus affectans, vel quia castello suo vicinum erat et commodum, vel quia et illo sub jure suo redacto, toti posset Angliæ licentius inferre dissensum, Joanni per internuncios mandavit, se pacis cum illo

Sapient. xi. 17.

Robert is taken prisoner by John le Marshal, castellan of Marlborough.

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[1] *turri eminentiori*, D.

[2] John Fitz Gilbert, Malmesb., 734. This was John le Marshal, son of Gilbert le Marshal. See p. 67, note 3.

A.D. 1140.

et amicitiæ fœdus habiturum, vices castellum suum introeundi causa consilii dandi et recipiendi[1] velle deposcere, fœdus indisruptum, concordiam intemeratam proposuisse servare. Joannes autem animadvertens spe castelli sui decipiendi, ut se res habebat, hæc omnia polliceri, gratanter quæ postulabat et benigne annuit, susceptumque castello, clausis post se portis, fame et tormentis afficiendum in carcerali angustia deposuit, irruensque cum suis in Roberti consodales, quos secum proditionis suæ conscios auctitarat,[2] alios, injectis continuo manibus, captos cum duce suo retrusit, alios cum ignominia turpiter effugatos usque ad Divisas cedere coegit.

The mutual treacheries of Robert Fitz Hubert and John le Marshal.

The latter takes Robert prisoner.

Audiens Glaorniæ comes nefandissimum illum in Joannis custodia, qui suæ adhuc partis fidissimus erat coadjutor, tali modo detentum, non mediocriter collætabatur, eximiamque militum frequentiam in suum advocans comitatum, ad Joannem advenit, adductumque ante Divisas Robertum, in omnium suorum oculis alte suspendit, condigna Dei ultione, ut qui multa hominum millia suppliciis attriverat, et ipse scelestam vitam digno supplicio terminaret.[3] Isto igitur, ut dictum est, suspenso, cognati et commilitones, quos in Divisa reliquerat, quos et vivens adjurarat ne cuiquam

The earl of Gloucester hangs Robert (before Aug. 15).

The friends of Robert sell Devizes

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[1] *decipiendi*, D.

[2] *ductitarat*?

[3] On comparing the account given by William of Malmesbury, p. 734, with p. 105 of the present chronicle and the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 117, 125–127, it seems that John was holding Marlborough for himself, but was so far bribed by the earl of Gloucester as to lend FitzHubert for 15 days in exchange for hostages. The earl's object was to force the prisoner to resign Devizes into his hands, but the plot was spoiled by the cunning of John, and so the earl hanged the man. As to the castellan of Marlborough we have it (*C. Fl. Wig.*, p. 126) that he was "*tunc* "*in regis fidelitate*," but Malmesbury contradicts this, and certainly Stephen attacked Marlborough in 1139. John was still castellan in 1144. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* says that John le Marshal, a partisan of the empress, fled after the fight at Wherwell to Marlborough (*l.* 276) and Ludgershall, and the *Ann. Winton.*, p. 51, say that John le Marshal had fortified these towns in 1138.

A.D. 1140.

to Hervey of Brittany, the king's son-in-law, but he is (in 1141) besieged, and forced to fly the kingdom.

castellum committerent, quamvis suspenderentur,[1] plurimis a rege susceptis pecuniis, Herveo Britoni, viro illustri et militari et genero regis, castellum commiserunt. Et ille quidem fortiter semper et vivacissime regem adjuvans, pertinacem et inremissum cum regis insectatoribus habuit conflictum, quousque tandem a rusticis circumventus, et ab omnibus comprovincialibus obsessus, vellet nollet, castello amisso, ab omni Anglia exul discederet. Sed de his in sequentibus.[2]

Geoffrey Talbot prepares to besiege the king's forces in Hereford. He garrisons the church of St. Mary.

Istis tali modo perpetratis, Galfridus Talebot, cujus mentionem locis opportunis præmisimus,[3] milites, quos rex in Herefordensi municipio reliquerat, patriæ defensores suique juris præministros et tutores, obsidere tentavit. Ingressusque in episcopalis sedis principalem Genitricis Dei ecclesiam, expulsis irreverenter mensæ Dei ministris, armatorum cœtum temerarie induxit, domumque orationum et animarum propiciatorium in dissensionis tumultum, in belli et sanguinis convertit recessum. Erat profecto horrendum, omnibusque pie sentientibus impatiendum, cernere vitæ et salutis habitaculum in raptorum et bellantium permutatum asylum; civibus ubique lacrymose ejulantibus, vel quia suorum cœmeterium in castelli sustollebatur vallum,[4] parentumque et cognatorum corpora alia semiputrefacta, alia recentissime humata, crudele spectaculum, ab imo videbant incompassive retracta; vel quia de turri, unde dulces et imbelles audierant tintinnabulorum monitus, nunc balistas erigi, nunc ad regales damnandos in palam erat missilia torqueri. Galfridus igitur regis milites in castello suo reclusos infestissime a templo propugnans, sed et Milo Glaornensis, ex alia castelli regione molita obsidione, cum machinis eos vehementer angustians . . . . . . A.D. 1140.

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[1] *suspenderetur?*

[2] See pp. 72, 73.

[3] On pp. 37, 38. He died of his wounds on Aug. 22, 1140 (*C. Fl. Wig.*, p. 128).

[4] The version of the *Contin. Fl. Wigorn.* in Cott. MS. Calig. A. vi., *f.* 233, exactly confirms all this and shows that it happened shortly before December 3.

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[*Rursus hic desiderantur folia duo.*[1]]

. . . . daret totum quod deliquerat diligentius emendaturum. Quapropter consultum est regi, ut viro, ad fœdus redintegrandum, ad pacem innovandam, recepto, si promissa factis adimpleret, tacitus observaret sicque ad alia explenda aliorsum secederet. Plurimo itaque evoluto tempore, cum nec comes solito devotius regi pareret, cumque in Lincolnensi cum uxore, et filiis commorans castello, civibus et affinibus dira injungeret, cives regi privatim et occulte nunciis destinatis, ut ad comitem cum suorum suffragiis obsidendum quam festinus adesset, cum multa supplicatione sæpius mandarunt. Rex autem repente, et improvise adveniens,[2] a civibus susceptus castellum evacuatum pæne invenit, exceptis uxore et fratre comitis[3] paucisque eorum suffraganeis, quos idem, rege civitatem subeunte, ibi relinquens, vix a castello solus effugit. Rege itaque constanter et animose castellum obsidente, quique includebantur balistis et aliis diversi studii machinis gravissime infestante, comes Cestriæ, mandatis Roberto comite Glaorniæ, sed et Milone et omnibus qui se in regem armarant, sed et Walensium gravi secum et intolerabili conducta multitudine, una omnes conspiratione, immo et concordi animo, ad regem expugnandum pariter convenerunt. Erat autem festivus

Siege of Lincoln begun about Dec. 25.

Battle of Lincoln, Feb. 2.

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[1] Possibly some of the matters treated of in the lost leaves were (i.) the capture of Bungay (*Ann. Wav.*, p. 228) and of Nottingham (*C. Fl. W.*, p. 128); (ii.) the fruitless negotiations for peace which W. of Malmesb. details, pp. 734, 735; and (iii.) the king's visit to Lincoln before Christmas mentioned by the same chronicler, p. 739.

[2] "*In ipsis Natalis Dominici* "*feriis*," W. of M., p. 739; Ord. Vital., p. 125, says "*post Natale.*"

[3] The earl of Chester's rights in Lincoln are explained by Duch. Lanc. Charter, No. 5.

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Omens preceding the battle of Lincoln.

Purificationis dies. Cumque in summo diluculo missarum solemnia celebrarent, et rex, secundum ritum diei et officium, accensum in manu cereum gestaret, lumen ipsum subito extinctum, sed et cereus, ut aiunt, parumper infractus, retentusque tamen in manu resarcinatus fuit, et iterato accensus: signum videlicet, quod propter peccatum suum regni honorem amitteret, tandemque, exacta pœnitentia, Deo sibi propitio mire et gloriose idem recuperaret. Quod etiam cereum, cum in manu illius infractus esset, in manu tamen retinuit, significat quia nec regnum ex toto deseruit, sed nec regis nomen, licet in carcere positus, amisit: miraque Dei actum est dispositione, cum inter summos detineretur inimicos, non tamen ne rex esset efficere potuerunt.

Stephen is taken prisoner.

Audiens autem rex hostes in proximo affuturos, ipsaque die, ni aufugeret, conflicturos, noluit gloriam suam fugæ opprobrio deturpare, sed bellico more caute et ordinate dispositis agminibus, extra civitatem obvius eis audacter occurrit. Cumque fortissimam tam militum quam peditum præmisisset cohortem, in exitu cujusdam vadi eis ad obsistendum, illi, e converso directis prudenter aciebus, cum violentia in ipsos irruentes, vadum occupaverunt, dispersisque eis fortissime et in fugam emissis, uno et intrepido animo in regium se vivacissime commiscuerunt exercitum, istisque interemptis et illis ad redimendum captis, plurimis autem antequam manus consererent, ut comes Mellonensis et Willelmus ille de Ipra, proh pudor! fugitantibus, regem tandem valide et constantissime repugnantem ceperunt. Proinde dum alii cives in civitatem fugitando se recipientes prosequerentur, et cædibus creberrime peractis, sed et domibus passim et templis prædatis et succensis, lacrymandum depopulationis spectaculum ubique committerent, alii circa immensam, quam sibi subdiderant, captivorum multitudinem, sed et circa regem frequentius intenderent; cumque eum tandem exarmassent, humiliter et querulose sæpius inclamantem, hanc

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sibi improperii notam, offensarum suarum vindice Deo, accidisse; nec tamen eos criminis præmaximi fuisse immunes, qui rupta fide, spreto juramento, nihili penso quod sibi pepigerant hominio, in eum, quem sibi regem et dominum spontanee præfecerant, tam dire tamque scelerate insurrexissent; tanta omnes pietatis et compassionis teneritudine frangebantur, ut non solum in lacrymas et ejulatum omnes prorumperent, sed et cordis et oris pœnitudine quam maxime afficerentur.

Stephen is taken to Gloucester, (Feb. 9) and is imprisoned at Bristol

Comes itaque Glaornensis regem secum adducens, sorori suæ comitissæ Andegaviæ in Glaornia obtulit, communique inde consilio in turri Bristoensi usque ad extremum vitæ halitum reservandum custodiis adhibitis reposuit: cæcus in hoc et Dei secreti ex toto nescius, in cujus manu, ut scriptum est, continetur cor regis, et quocumque voluerit vertet illud; Qui ideo regem ad tempus humiliat, ut gloriosius postmodum et potentius exaltet. Qui enim regem Babylonicum superbe se et arroganter extollentem usque ad bestialem formam infirmatum depressit, ut per ipsam depressionem, sensu et meliore in Deum cognitione recepta, altius postea et acceptius levaret; Qui etiam regem David per filii insectationem ideo propter peccata sua a sede regali turpiter effugavit, perque diversa latibula viliter[1] et inhonore discursare permisit, ut eminentius perinde et mirabilius ad regnum induceret; Ipse idem secreto illo, quo nihil agit sine causa, consilio, regem Stephanum ad momentum voluit dejici, ut excelsius postea et mirificentius posset elevari. Sed quomodo illud et quam mirabiliter contigerit, clarius in sequentibus dilucidabimus.[2]

State of England.

Capto itaque rege, et, ut propalatum est, in Bristoam ex Dei dispositione retruso, tota Anglia concussa

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[1] *viriliter*, D.

[2] For an account of the interview of Stephen with the empress Maud, and of his subsequent treatment, see Will. of Malmesb., p. 740.

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obstupuit, et aliis quidem festus dies, et nova lux visa oriri, dum per hoc discordiæ et bello finem imponendum sperarent; aliis altius sentientibus non posse reatum, quem in regem et dominum commiserant, sine maximo regni et suorum impedimento expiari, sed nec discordiæ tumultus tam facile terminari, dum in propatulo esset et majorem regni partem regi se inclinasse, et firmiora ubique castella regalibus cessisse. Quod et ita contigisse non multo post experto probavimus. Sed tamen major regni pars comitissæ suisque se fautoribus continuo inclinavit, et alii quidem ex regalibus, subitis circumventi infortuniis, aut capiebantur, aut ex propriis cum violentia detrudebantur: alii mentita citissime, quam regi debuerant, fide, se illi et sua ultronee contradebant.[1] Hominum profecto servile et teterrimum genus, qui, domino et rege sinistris auspiciis agitato non tamen amisso, fidem, quam ei promiserant, tam repente immutarunt. Comes namque Alanus, vir, ut dictum est, immensæ truculentiæ et doli, dum comiti Cestriæ inhonoram, quam in regem et dominum commiserat, captionem ulturus insidias tenderet, adversariis prævalentibus, captus et catenatus, suppliciisque in carcerali squalore fuit addictus; donec coactæ humilitatis et vilissimæ servitutis induens cervicem, et hominium comiti Cestriæ faceret, et castella sua illius deliberationi permitteret: interimque comitatum Cornubiæ, quem ex regis datione percepit, Reinaldo jam in patria superiore, amisit. Comes etiam Herveus, gener regis, in castello, quod

The greater part of the kingdom sides with the empress.

Earl Alan is taken prisoner,

and does homage to the earl of Chester; but loses Cornwall.

Earl Hervey, the

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[1] From Cott. MS. Domit. xv. *fo.* 6 (an Ely chronicle), it would seem that two earls seized on the Isle of Ely during the king's imprisonment. "*Rex Stephanus captus est* "*. . . Com. Goffridus et Gilebertus* "*insulam de Hely assiliunt et capiunt.*" This is no doubt Geoffrey de Mandeville, for we learn from Malmesbury, p. 752, that during the king's imprisonment he changed sides, but afterwards returned to his allegiance. For the remarkable grants made to him after Stephen's release, see Duch. Lanc. Charters, Pub. Rec. O., No. 7.

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Divisa dicitur, a simplici rusticorum plebe in unum se globum in malum illius conjurante, diutissime obsessus, tandemque castello in manus comitissæ reddito, ab omni Anglia inhoneste depulsus cum paucis transmeavit. Sed et Hugo cognomine Pauper, qui comitatum Bedefordiæ, detruso Milone de Bellocampo, ex regia permissione possederat, negligenter et remisse, ut vir laxus et effeminatus se continens, castellum Miloni, vellet nollet, commisit, justoque Dei judicio de comite miles, de milite in brevi pauperrimus fuit.[1]

king's son-in-law, driven from Devizes.

Hugh le Poer loses Bedfordshire.

Istis itaque, sed et aliis nonnullis, qui regi paruerant, mutabilem infelicis fortunæ aleam perpessis, aliis quoque sponte nulloque cogente ad comitissæ imperium conversis, (ut Robertus de Oli, civitatis Oxenefordiæ sub rege præceptor, et comes ille de Warwic,[2] viri molles et deliciis magis quam animi fortitudine affluentes,) illa statim elatissimum summi fastus induere supercilium nec jam humilem femineæ mansuetudinis motum vel incessum, sed solito severius, solito et arrogantius procedere et loqui, et cuncta cœpit peragere, adeo ut in ipso mox domini sui capite reginam se totius Angliæ fecerit, et gloriata fuerit appellari. Consultum autem est ei, quatinus Henricum Wintoniensem episcopum fratrem regis in amorem suum asrisceret,[3] eo quod omnibus Angliæ magnatibus consilio et prudentia præstantior, virtute et divitiis haberetur potentior; quod si suæ vellet parti allubescere, honorandum eum et consiliorum primum; si vero contrarius et rebellis quoquomodo existeret, omnem in eum[4] Angliæ exercitum festinato dirigendum. Episcopus vero in angustia positus, hinc, quia

The pride of Maud.

She endeavours to gain over Henry of Winchester.

His difficult position.

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[1] This passage corrects and explains a statement on p. 32.

[2] Roger, see p. 80.

[3] See Adam de Domerham, p. 328, ed. Hearne, for Maud's charter containing a reference to her interview with the bishop at Wherwell on Feb. 16, and to her entry into Winchester on Feb. 17. Malmesbury, pp. 743, 744, has different dates, and is perhaps wrong.

[4] *eo*, D.

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partes regis tueri et ad priorem punctum reducere difficillimum erat, maxime quia castella sua nec escis nec hominibus sufficienter firmarat, inde, quia grave sibi et in oculis hominum indecens videbatur, spirante adhuc fratre, adversis se illius tam subito inclinare. Diverso itaque hamo huc illucque distractus anceps ferebatur, donec acceptiori confirmatus consilio, disposuit ad tempus pacis [et][1] amicitiæ fœdus cum inimicis pacisci, dum sic sibi et suis pacis securitate indulta, et quo se regnum vel quomodo vergeret, tacitus observaret, et ad subveniendum fratri, si opportunitas daretur, promptius et liberius assurgeret.

He determines to temporise.

Pacis igitur et concordiæ fœdere in commune peracto, cum festiva[2] illam occursione in Ventam civitatem suscepit, regisque castello et regni corona, quam semper ardentissime affectarat, thesaurisque, quos licet perpaucos rex ibi reliquerat, in deliberationem suam[3] contraditis, in publica se civitatis et fori audientia dominam et reginam acclamare præcepit. Illa itaque in hunc supremi honoris cumulum tam gloriose tam et excellenter evecta, cuncta cœpit potenter, immo et præcipitanter agere, et alios quidem, qui regi paruerant, quique se illi et sua subjicere convenerant, invite et cum aperta quandoque indignatione suscipere, alios autem injuriis et minis afflictos indignando a se abigere; istorum possessiones et terras, ut rex haberi permiserat, ordine indiscrete permutato minuere vel auferre; illorum feuda[4] et honores, qui, licet perpauci, regi adhuc paruerant, distrahere ex toto et aliis permittere; quicquid rex decreto regali permissum statuerat, ore imperioso destituere, quicquid ecclesiis vel secum commilitantibus fixe et inconcusse donarat, abripere confestim et suis impendere; quodque plurimi

The empress Maud holds a council at Winchester (7–10 April).

Her haughty behaviour to her friends.

She reverses all Stephen's grants, and

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[1] *et*, not in D.

[2] *festina*, D. *Honorifica facta processione*, Will. of Malm., p. 744, referring to her entry on March 3.

[3] *deliberatione sua*, D.

[4] *feudos*, D.

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fuerat supercilii et arrogantiæ indicium, cum rex Scotiæ[1] et episcopus Wintoniæ et frater illius comes Glaorniæ, quos totius regni primos continuos tunc comites secum ductabat, pro quolibet supplicaturi, poplitibus ante ipsam flexis accesserant, non, ipsis ante se inclinantibus, reverenter ut decuit assurgere, nec in postulatis assentiri, sed inexauditos quamsæpe, tumidaque responsione obbuccatos a se inhonore dimittere; jamjamque non illorum consiliis, ut decebat et ut eis promiserat, inniti, sed suo quæque provisu, suæ et dispositionis præsumptu, cuncta ordinare. Hæc vero cum episcopus Wintoniensis sine suo assensu, sed et alia nonnulla sine suo consilio agi conspiceret, indigne satis et ægre tulit, cauteque tamen et versute cuncta dissimulans, ad quem finem cœpta devenirent tacitus observabat.

treats the king of Scots, the bishop of Winchester, and her own brother with great disrespect.

The bishop of Winchester is disgusted.

Cum igitur illa majorem sibi regni partem, datis obsidibus sumpto et ab hominibus hominio, tandem inclinasset, et ob hoc in fastuosam elata verticem plurimum se, ut præmissum est, extulisset, cum immenso militum apparatu, rogatu Londoniensium, qui se illi supplices obtulerunt, ad civitatem postremo devenit.[2] Cumque cives lætos se pacis et tranquillitatis attigisse dies, regnique infortunium in melius permutatum æstimarent, illa, ditioribus quibusque mandatis, infinitæ copiæ pecuniam, non simplici cum mansuetudine sed cum ore imperioso, ab eis exegit. Proinde cum illi solitas divitiarum opulentias per regni dissensionem conquererentur amisisse, ad asperrimæ famis, quæ imminebat, relevandam inediam plurima impendisse, usque ad impendentem pauperiem regi semper obtemperasse, ideoque pie et humiliter implorarent, quatinus calamitatis et oppressionis suæ

The empress goes to London (a little before 24 June).

She demands money from the citizens.

They expostulate.

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[1] From Twysden, col. 63 and col. 270, it appears that he started after May 8, and was received at Durham on the way.

[2] W. of Malmesb., p. 749, gives the approximate date.

A.D. 1141. miserta, in exigendis pecuniis modum eis imponeret, in injungendis insoliti tributi angariis vexatis civibus vel pauco tempore parceret; deinde vero, cum sopitis per regnum bellorum tumultibus pax ex integro rediret stabilior, quanto amplius divitiis dilatarentur, tanto obnixius ei suffragarentur. Talia his modis civibus prosequentibus, illa, torva oculos, crispata in rugam frontem, totam muliebris mansuetudinis eversa faciem, in intolerabilem indignationem exarsit, regi inquiens Londonienses plurima et sæpe impendisse; divitias suas ad eum roborandum, se autem imbecillandum, largissime prorogasse; cum adversariis suis in malum suum dudum conspirasse; ideoque nec justum esse in aliquo eis parcere, nec exquisitæ pecuniæ vel minimum relaxare. His cives perceptis tristes et inexauditi ad sua discessere.

Her imperious bearing and answer.

Stephen's queen strives for the release of her husband.

In hujus etiam temporis instantia regina, astuti pectoris virilisque constantiæ femina, nunciis ad comitissam destinatis, pro viro ex carcerali squalore eruendo, filioque illius ex paterno tantum testamento hæreditando, enixe supplicavit; sed cum duris et inhonestis conviciata injuriis, tam ipsa quam et illi, qui vice illius supplicaturi accesserant, suæ petitionis compotes [minime][1] exstiterant. Regina, quod prece non valuit, armis impetrare confidens, splendidissimum militantium decus ante Londonias, ex altera fluvii regione, transmisit, utque raptu et incendio, violentia et gladio in comitissæ suorumque prospectu, ardentissime circa civitatem desævirent præcepit. Londonienses igitur plurimum anxiati, hinc, quia in eorum oculis patria nudabatur hostilique deprædatione in domos ericii redigebatur, nec qui suffragaretur in promptu habebatur; inde, quia nova illa domina dis-

Failing in negociation, she has recourse to arms, and marches with a strong army to London.

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[1] Duchesne reads, *tam ipsa quam et illi . . . compotes exstiterant*, and in the margin explains *exstiterant* by *non existerent*. Dr. Sewell alters *tam—quam et* to *neque—neque*. It is easier to believe that a word has been omitted.

cretionis metas transcendens immoderate se contra eos erigebat, nec futuræ eam mansuetudinis vel pietatis habituram erga se viscera sperabant, cum in primo jam regnandi capite suorum nequaquam miserta intolerabilia eis postularet: quocirca dignum consultu judicarunt, ut cum regina pacis et confœderationis pactione redintegrata, ad regem et dominum a vinculis eruendum unanimiter conspirarent: quod pro rege nimis subito nimis et indiscrete relicto juste notati, [non diutius][1] injunctam sibi novorum tyrannidem quoquomodo spirante adhuc rege susciperent.

A.D. 1141.

The citizens of London, being in a difficulty, determine on joining the queen.

Cum ergo comitissa quid super postulatione sua cives responderent, voluntatis implendæ secura, præstolaretur, omnis civitas sonantibus ubique campanis, signum videlicet ad bellum progrediendi, ad arma convolavit, omnesque unum habentes animum in comitissam et suos atrocissime irruere velle, quasi frequentissima ex apium alveariis examina reseratis portis pariter prodierunt.[2] Illa autem cum coquinatis dapibus nimium audacter nimiumque secure recumbere jam proposuisset, audito civitatis horrendo tumultu, et a quodam de proditione in eam concitata secrete præmonita,[3] fugæ velocissime præsidium cum omnibus suis expetiit. Cumque cursatiles ascensi equos vix antemurales civitatis domos fugiendo liquissent, ecce civium magna, dictuque et æstimatu indicibilis copia, hospitia quæ reliquerant subiens, quodcumque impræmeditata fugæ velocitas intus deseruerat, sicut relictum invenit, ita et inventum ubique diripuit. Comitissa autem, cum plures secum barones, timore urgente, aufugissent, non tamen continuos eos fugæ et dispersionis suæ secum habuit comites: quia tantus tam repentini pavoris strepitus tam mirabiliter omnes conturbavit,

The citizens issue from the gates to attack the empress,

who seeks safety in instant flight.

Her suite is dispersed.

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[1] The sense requires a negative.

[2] This was "*in mense Junio*," *Annal. Plympton.* (Liebermann, Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen, p. 28). See Twysden, col. 63. William Cumin was to have been invested on June 24.

[3] *permonita*, D.

A.D. 1141. ut, dominæ suæ prorsus immemores, sibi potius fugiendo consulerent, variarumque viarum diversiclinia, quæ se citius fugitantibus objiciebant, subeuntes, per plurima diverticula, quasi se Londonienses instanter insequerentur, sua expetierunt. Et episcopus quidem Wintoniensis hujus, ut ferunt, factionis conscius et instigator, sed et alii quidam, tam episcopi quam cinguli militaris viri, qui ad dominam inthronizandam pompose Londonias et arroganter convenerant, multimoda fugæ latibula pernicissime adierunt. Illa vero cum fratre suo comite Glaornensi aliisque baronibus perpaucis, quibus præcipue fugiendi opportunitas illo aptius dirigebatur, civitatem Oxenefordiæ sub omni acceleratione advenit.[1]

She escapes to Oxford.

Istis igitur a Londonia tali modo exterritis, quicumque regis erant fautores et ex ejusdem captione humiliati deprimebantur, tanquam[2] nova luce perfusi, in invicem læte congratulabantur, sumptisque animose armis, in comitissæ consentaneos undecumque insurgebant. Regina autem a Londoniensibus suscepta, sexusque fragilitatis femineæque mollitiei oblita, viriliter sese et virtuose continere; invictos ubique coadjutores prece sibi et pretio allicere; regis conjuratos, ubi ubi per Angliam fuerant dispersi, ad dominum suum secum reposcendum constanter sollicitare; et nunc quidem Wintoniensem episcopum, totius Angliæ legatum, ut fraternis compatiens vinculis ad eum liberandum intenderet, ut sibi maritum, plebi regem, regno patronum, toto secum nisu adquireret, viriliter supplicare. Et episcopus quidem flexus tum lacrymosis mulieris precibus, quas ei instantissime suggerebat, tum pia fraterni sanguinis compassione, quæ illum vehementissime afficiebat, animo secum plurimum moliri, quomodo et fratrem ex carceris improperio sub-

The courage of the king's party revives.

Exertions of the queen for her husband.

The bishop of Winchester wishes to assist Stephen.

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[1] She went to Oxford, then to Gloucester, and back again to Oxford, *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 132.

[2] *tamque*, D.

A.D. 1141.

The empress prepares to attack Winchester. She gains possession of the city. The bishop rides out from another gate.

trahere, et regno ingeniosius posset inducere. Sed comitissa Andegavensis versutiam illius astute præveniens, cum instructissimo militum apparatu, episcopum, si posset interceptura, Ventam civitatem advenit:[1] cumque unam portam, civibus adventus illius omnino insciis, cum maxima sese ambientium frequentia subintrasset, episcopus curraci equo ascenso ex alia progrediens ad castella sua celerrime aufugit. Illa igitur universam sibi parentium per Angliam militiam, edicto ubique propenso,[2] in grandem exercitum convocavit, castellumque episcopi, quod venustissimo constructum schemate[3] in civitatis medio locarat, sed et domum illius, quam ad instar castelli fortiter et inexpugnabiliter firmarat, validissima obsidione claudere præcepit.

Allies of the empress.

Commodum autem duxi paucis intimare, qui vel quanti coadjutores illius ad obsidionem secum inferendam, contractis ibi viribus, affuere, quatinus, his perspectis, lector advertat non hominum esse potentiam, sed [per] Deicæ potius virtutis miram et potentissimam efficaciam, tam validum tamque copiosum militantium examen adeo repente victum et dispersum, captum fuisse et penitus adnullatum, sicut in sequentibus plenius declarabimus. Fuit ibi David rex Scotiæ,[4] ut præmissum est bis ab Anglia ignominiose effugatus, tertio autem, non sine sui flagitio suorumque maximo periculo, cum innumeris aliis probrose effugandus. Fuit et Robertus comes Glaorniæ, Rannulfus comes Cestriæ,[5] Balduinus comes Esoniæ, Reinaldus filius regis Henrici, sed nothus, comes Cornubiæ, Milo Glaornensis, quem ibi cum gratia et favore omnium

Earls.

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[1] Just before August 1 is the date fixed by the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 133; Malmesbury says a little before August 15, the *Annal. Plympt.* (Liebermann, p. 28), "*mense Au-* "*gusto jam mediante.*"

[2] *propanso?* See p. 35.

[3] *cemate*, D.

[4] See Twysden, col. 63, 40–50.

[5] According to Will. of Malmesbury, he came too late to be of any service, p. 751.

A.D. 1141. comitem præfecit Herefordiæ, Rogerius comes de Warwic, Willelmus de Moiun, quem comitem ibi statuit Dorsetiæ, Boterellus quidam comes Britanniæ: Barons. barones, nihilominus fide et merito, virtute et præstantia nequaquam comitibus inferiores; Brienus videlicet, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, Joannes, ille Marescallus agnominatus, Rogerius[1] de Oleo, Rogerius de Nunant, Willelmus filius Alani; sed et alii nonnulli, quos expresse denominare longum est et tædiosum.[2] Qui omnes, viribus mire et copiose undecumque secum conductis, ad obsidendum episcopi castellum uno animo, uno et infatigabili studio, pariter contendebant.

Movements of the bishop. Episcopus autem, mandatis ex omni Anglia, qui regi paruerant, baronibus, sed et militibus gregariis plurimo ære conductis, ad eos extra civitatem infestandos toto nisu contendit. The queen, with a strong body of Londoners, besieges the besiegers. Sed et regina cum eximio militantium robore, cumque invicta Londoniensium caterva, qui fere mille cum galeis et loricis ornatissime instructi convenerant, interius obsidentes vivacissime exterius et ardentissime obsidebat. Habuerat et rex proceres secreti sui privos,[3] privataque familiaritate sibi conjunctiores, non quidem terris amplificatos, sed in castris tantum merentes, quorum digniores fuerunt Rogerius de Casneto[4] et Willelmus frater illius, viri bellaces nullisque militari industria vel quavis probitate secundi; qui, capto rege, fidem tamen ei indisruptam servantes, intestinum ejusdem adversariis semper et ubique habuere conflictum. Cumque ceteri regis fautores ad ejusdem adversarios expugnandos, Ventam civitatem confluxissent, et ipsi, cum accinctissima militum et sagittantium cohorte, ex una eos civitatis regione infestissime degravabant. Facta est autem ibi miranda nostrisque seculis inaudita obsidio. Quia cum tota Anglia, cum inopinabili exteræ gentis affluentia, illic undecumque coadunata cum armis affuisset, sic in invicem contrarii habebantur, ut qui episcopi castellum exterius[1] obsidebant, et ipsi a regalibus exterius strictissime obsidebantur, nunquam sine hominum periculo, nunquam sine utriusque gentis quam maximo detrimento. Ut enim de militibus reticeam, qui in cotidiano conflictu nunc ex hac parte nunc ex illa capiebantur, vel qui, diversis agitati casibus, diversis modis extinguebantur, nonnulla alia contigerunt incommoda; quia dum illi ad episcopi obtinendum castellum arte et ingenio contendebant, qui intus recludebantur ignibus foras emissis majorem civitatis partem, sed et duas abbatias,[2] in favillas penitus redegerunt. Dum etiam regales, appositis ubique armatorum cuneis, viarum circa civitatem diverticula, ne quid escarum interius ingereretur, curiosissime observarent, fames valida omnem urbem inhabitantium copiam gravissime vexavit. Provisum est igitur et communi consilio provise, ut sibi videbatur, statutum, quatinus penes abbatiam Warwellensem, quæ a Venta civitate vi. milliariis distabat, trecentis ibi destinatis militibus, castellum construerent, ut scilicet inde et regales facilius arcerentur, et ciborum subsidia competentius in urbem dirigerentur. Sed regales consultum hujusmodi in malum suum machinatum advertentes, subito et insperate, cum intolerabili multitudine Warwellam advenerunt, fortiterque in eos undique irruentes, captis et interemptis plurimis, cedere tandem reliquos et in templum se recipere compulerunt. Cum-

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[1] *Robertus?* See p. 73, and *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 130.

[2] The list of witnesses to one of Maud's charters at Oxford (obviously in 1141) supplies other names. *Monast. Anglic.*, v. 107.

[3] *primos*, D.

[4] See charters to Sibton Abbey for the genealogy of this family. *Monast. Anglic.* (ed. 1830), v. 559

Extraordinary position of both armies.

Two abbeys burnt.

Famine in the city.

The empress establishes strong positions at Wherwell.

Sudden attack on Wherwell by the king's party.

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[1] D. suggests *interius*.

[2] Probably the abbey of St. Mary, and Hyde abbey. Will. of Malmesbury, p. 752.

A.D. 1141.

The abbey stormed and burnt (Sept. 14).

que vice castelli ad se defendendos templo uterentur, alii, facibus undique injectis, semiustulatos eos e templo prodire, et ad votum suum se sibi subdere coegerunt. Erat quidem horrendum et miserabile videre, quam impie, quam truculenter in templo, pietatis videlicet et orationis domo, armatorum cunei grassabantur; maxime quia, hic alterutrim[que] cædes committebantur, illic captivi loris vinculati abstrahebantur; hinc incendium templi et domorum fastigia horribiliter depascebat, inde virginum Deo sacratarum, quæ igne urgente suis de claustris invitæ prodierant, clamor et ejulatus alte resonabat.[1]

Robert of Gloucester prepares to retreat from Winchester.

The retreat.

His men are surrounded and routed by the king's forces.

Robertus itaque Glaornensis comes, ceterique suæ partis suffraganei, ubi lacrymabilem præfati infortunii audissent eventum, de obsidione diutius ingerenda ex toto desperati, fugæ quam mature inire præsidium sibi consuluere. Non enim sanum eis erat vel commodum, pro tam luctuosa suorum ibi amplius immorari jactura, cum in palam esset et civitatem ab episcopi militibus horridissimo concrematam incendio, famisque et inediæ tabe eos plurimum laborare, et sibi, ni celerius aufugerent, idem perversitatis infortunium quamcitius imminere. Collectis itaque sarcinulis, e portis pariter prorumpebant cauteque ad fugiendum, et consertim dispositis agminibus, fugam omnes catervatim inibant: cum ecce indicibilis regalis exercitus multitudo undique illos circumveniens fortiter in eos irruit et intrepidanter, omnemque adversariorum copiam in diversa dispergens, comitem tandem Glaorniæ, extremi

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[1] This incident is variously narrated by the chroniclers: John of Hexham (Twysden, col. 270) supports the *Gesta.* Malmesbury (p. 752) apparently does the same. On the other hand, the well-informed Continuator of *Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 135, represents John le Marshal as entering Wherwell abbey during the flight and fighting, it would seem, to cover Maud's retreat. This is supported by the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (*ll.* 208–248).

A.D. 1141.

The earl of Gloucester taken prisoner (Sept. 14).

agminis ducem et provisorem, cum omnibus pæne suis captum intercepit;[1] deinde in reliquum vulgus per omnes sese provinciæ fines circumquaque diffundens, non solum quoscumque deprehenderat milites captivavit, sed et inæstimabilis pretii spolia, sparsim et ubique oblata, diripuit. Videres cursatiles equos, forma acceptos et spectaculo dignos, hic præcipitatis rectoribus passim vagare, illic extremum trahentes halitum præ lassitudine deficere; nunc scuta et loricas, armorumque omnimodum genus solotenus ubique strata jacere; nunc pallia concupiscibilia, sed et metalli appretiandi vasa, cum aliis exeniis, cumulatim projecta, reperientibus se passim objicere. Quid loquar de militibus immo et de summis baronibus, qui omnibus militandi abjectis insigniis, pedites et inhonori, nomen suum et fugam mentiebantur; et alii quidem, in manus rusticorum incidentes, dirissimis flagris atterebantur, alii, latibulis sese occultantes inhonestis, exsangues et metu pleni, vel usque ad opportunum fugiendi tempus ibi delitescebant, vel ab adversariis tandem inventi probrose et indecenter inde attrahebantur? Quid etiam regem Scotiæ memorem, qui tertio, ut aiunt, captus, sed præmio semper intercurrente dimissus, dolens et defatigatus vix ad sua cum paucis defugit? Quid Cantuariæ archipræsulem, cum quibusdam episcopis, aliisque eminentioribus totius Angliæ viris, qui, dispersis sociis, equis quoque et vestibus ab istis captis, ab illis horrende abstractis, vix ad tuta dispersionis hujus latibula diffugere potuerunt? Sed et ipsa Andegavensis comitissa, femineam semper excedens mollitiem, ferreumque et infractum gerens in adversis animum, ante omnes, Brieno tantum cum paucis comite, ad Divisas confugit, immensum

The king of Scots is taken, but bribes his captors.

Narrow escape of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The empress and Brien Fitz Count escape to Devizes.

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[1] He was taken to Rochester, *Peterborough Chron.*, p. 384.

A.D. 1141. per hoc, ipsa et Brienus,[1] nacti præconii titulum, ut sicut sese antea mutuo et indivise dilexerant, ita nec in adversis, plurimo impediente periculo, aliquatenus separarentur.[2]

The Londoners pillage Winchester.

Dum igitur hæc fugæ et dispersionis varietas varie, ut dilucidatum est, diversis in locis ageretur, Londonienses, cum maxima militum regalium parte, modis horrendis Wintoniensem civitatem expilavere, domibusque et cellariis sed et templis nonnullis fractis et deprædatis, cum multis exeniis, cum innumeris etiam captivis, ad propria unusquisque lætissime discessere. Et ita quidem Wintoniensis sese habuit dispersio, quæ cunctis adeo horrenda fuit et admirabilis, ut vix aliqua ætas consimilem in nostro seculo valeat reminisci.

Stephen and the earl of Gloucester

Capto itaque tali modo Glaornensi comite, paucoque temporis intervallo transcurso, facta fuit inter utrius-

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[1] Gilbert Foliot (*Ep.* lxxix.) writes a lengthy epistle to Brien FitzCount, who had apparently caused a book to be written in support of Maud, "*cujus causam* "*. . . ut . . . jam vidimus eloquii* "*venustate . . . sustines et de*-"*fendis.*" Foliot reminds him that Henry I. helped him from boyhood, knighted, and enriched him. This letter was written shortly after the Lateran Council of 1139. It supplies an innocent interpretation to the otherwise ambiguous words of the text. See also Maud's charter (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19579) mentioning a gift made to Reading abbey "*pro amore et legali servicio* "*Brieni filii comitis quod mihi* "*fecit,*" and Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ. xxxi., p. 395.

[2] The newly discovered poem, *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (*ll.* 199–354), gives details as to the escape of the empress. It was John le Marshal who advised her to ride to his own castle of Ludgershall, and who said—

Les jambes vos covient desjoindre
Et metre par en sor l'arçun.

He, too (see p. 82, note 1), covered her retreat by a rally at Wherwell. The king's troops supposed he was burned in the abbey; but he made his escape on foot to Marlborough, from whence he went to Ludgershall. Issuing from thence he inflicted a defeat on earl Patrick. The poem was composed many years after these events; but, as M. Paul Meyer shows, the poet had excellent opportunities for getting information. The *C. Fl. Wigorn.* agrees that the empress went on to Devizes.

A.D. 1141.

que partis fautores fixeque statuta conventio, ut rege et comite unoquoque pro altero redditis, ad priorem dissensionis punctum ex integro redirent. Dura quidem et indiscreta, omnique regioni offutura conditio: sed quia alia nequiit ad præsens pacis inter eos et amicitiæ intercurrere consensio, utrisque in pactione statuenda tumide inter se dissidentibus partibus, provisa fuit hæc tandem et grate utrinque suscepta conventio. Reddito itaque rege, splendida et gloriosa occurrentium baronum et congredientium fuit cum comitata processio, mireque pietas intermixta cum gaudio festivum cunctis tripudium adaugebat; dum alii, ob propitiam Dei clementiam potenter et mirabiliter in eum actam, pias amicabiliter et religiose lacrymas elicerent, alii, ob incolumem ejusdem receptionem, in vocem jubili et exultationis læte prorumperent.[1]

— are exchanged (Nov. 1).

Rejoicings at the restoration of the king.

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[1] See, for an account of the negotiation, Will. of Malmesb., p. 759. At this point we lose the assistance of the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, who might perhaps more properly be quoted as John of Worcester, instead of being treated as an anonymous writer. See Engl. Hist. Soc. edition of Florence, p. 107, note 2.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

A.D. 1142.

Rege de carcerali tandem exuto angustia, cum tam horribili regni malitiæ finem jam imponendum crederes tantisque doloribus, et partem utramvis condolere, et ad pacem in commune redintegrandam conspirare putares, aggravata est denuo super Anglenses manus Domini; quia multimode Deum offenderant, multiplici castigati flagello, ut reseratum est, vapularunt.[1] Comitissa namque Andegavensis, ferocem semper et inflexibilem exhalans spiritum, recepta postremo incolumitate, (fuerat enim ex Wentoniensi dispersione quassa nimis, et usque ad defectum pæne defatigata) cum valida militarium virorum manu civitatem Oxenefordiam, quæ suo se dominio inclinarat, devenit;[2] suosque ad resistendum regi roborans et confortans, plurimas equestrium alas ad prædandum quaquaversum direxit; fide sibi et hominio connexos, ut suo conamini enixius suffragarentur, scriptis et nunciis sollicite flagitavit; castella, ubicumque competentius poterat, ista ad regales validius arcendos, illa ad suos impensius tutandos passim firmavit; unum siqui-

The empress moves upon Oxford (before Sept. 29).

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[1] A good indication that the author was not in attendance on the king may be observed in the fact that he does not mention Stephen's illness. John of Hexham (Twysden, 271) says that Stephen went to York *after* Easter to settle the North, but, *præventus . . . infirmitate*, dismissed his forces. Malmesbury, p. 763, says that the king's sickness lasted from a little after April 19 to beyond June 7. About June 24 [?] the earl of Gloucester crossed to Normandy (W. of M., p. 765), and then Stephen took Wareham. His attack on Cirencester and other places near would naturally come between this event and the burning of Oxford.

[2] The approximate date is from Gervase, i. 124.

A.D. 1142.

Establishes strong posts at Woodstock, Radcot, Cirencester, and Bampton.

dem apud Wdestoc, regis Henrici familiarem privati secreti recessum, aliud apud viculum Ratrotam, fluctibus inaccesse et paludibus obseptum; tertium penes civitatem Cirencestriæ, juxta piam religiosorum ecclesiam, tanquam alterum Dagon juxta Arcam Domini; quartum in villa Bentonensi, super ipsius ecclesiæ turrim, quæ ex miro schemate, stupendoque ingeniosi laboris artificio fuit ex antiquo constructa; aliaque nonnulla diversis in Angliæ provinciis fautoribus suis firmare permisit; ex quibus gravissima populi depressio, communis regni depopulatio, belli et dissidii semina ubique pullularunt.

Stephen surprises and burns Cirencester.

Captures Bampton and Radcot.

Marches on Oxford.

Lucan. Phars. ii. 657.

Sed rex Stephanus, talibus perceptis, quasi tunc demum a somno experrectus, a pigritiæ torpore vive se et audacter excussit, ascitisque suæ partis assentaneis, cum plurimo constantis militiæ apparatu, civitatem Cirencestriæ improvise devenit, castellumque, custodibus furtive[1] dispersis, evacuatum reperiens, ignibus depascendum commisit, valloque et propugnaculis usque ad imum dirutis,[2] ad Bentonam[3] constantissime et Ratrotam exercitum direxit; alteroque cum violentia capto, altero autem ex libitu reddito, quemadmodum de Cæsare legimus, "nil actum credens, cum quid "superesset agendum," ad Oxenofordiam, Andegavensis comitissæ vires impugnaturus, virtuose accessit.

Description of Oxford.

Est autem Oxenefordia civitas tutissime munita, aquis maximæ profunditatis undique proluentibus inaccessa; hinc, vallis antemuralis intentissime circumcincta, inde inexpugnabili castello et turri eminentissima pulcre et fortissime roborata.

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[1] *fortuito?*

[2] *diruto*, D.

[3] Benton is no doubt Bampton (Beamdune). *Ratrota* is probably Radcot, about three miles to the south-west, and close to the Thames. In MSS. of the probable age of the one which Duchesne was copying, a *d* with a top sloping back, followed closely by a *c*, might easily be mistaken for a *t* with a tilted top, followed by the second form of *r*.

The two villages lie in the line of march from Cirencester to Oxford.

A.D. 1142.

Huc igitur cum Andegavensis comitissa cum splendida se[1] militantium manu contulisset, nimium quidem sui suorumque secura, tum quia castellum cum omni circumjacente provincia sub sui imperii redigebatur jure, tum propter insuperabilem loci munitionem, quæ sola est duntaxat adversantium gloria, ecce rex, cum grandi et exercitato comitatu assistens, ex altera fluvii regione subito advenit, cernensque adversarios in magnam copiam conflatos e civitate prodisse, aliosque, solo fluvio dirimente, verbis injuriosis se et suos lacessere, alios vero, excussis valide de cornu sagittis, suos ex adversa fluvii parte dirissime infestare, præmonstrato antiquo sed eximiæ profunditatis vado, cum primis seipsum audacissime immersit, transitoque confestim natando, potius quam vadando, meatu, virili cum impetu in hostes impegit, retroque usque ad civitatis portas cedere cogens, bellicas cum eis manus virilissime commiscuit. Cumque denique sui, flumine post eum transmisso, pariter emersissent, inque unum constipati globum in adversarios insurrexissent, illis fugientibus et apertis portis in civitatem se recipientibus, se etiam regales turmatim cum eis intermiscentes intra mœnia nullo obsistente contulerunt, facibusque ubique in civitate domibus injectis, insignem de adversariis victoriæ titulum indepti fuere.[2] Omnes siquidem horrendo sinistri casus infortunio pariter involvere, quia alios quotquot resistebant, gladio dissecante, vita privavere, alios sub redimendi conditione detentos vinculis injecere; istos secura dispersionis suæ latibula repetentes prodire e civitate coegere, illos in castellum sub festinatione cum domina sua detrusos fortiter reclusere.

Stephen crosses the river, and engages the enemy.

Maud's party routed; Stephen's men enter the city, and set fire to it, Sept. 26.

The empress is shut up in the castle.

Rex igitur tali modo victoria potitus,[3] ad obsidionem in comitissam et suos ingerendam se constantissime

The castle besieged.

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[1] *secum*, D.

[2] W. of Malmesb., p. 766, gives the date.

[3] *potita*, D.

A.D. 1142.

accinxit, facile reputans discordiæ regni finem imponendum, si suis illam viribus subjugasset, per quam discordandi sumpsit exordium. Dispositis igitur sollicitis hinc inde circa castellum custodibus, omnes aditus nocte diligenter et die observare præcepit; tribusque mensibus cum plurimo ibi perendinans exercitu, usque ad impendentem[1] famis inediam castellum inhabitantes obsidendo redegit. Verum quoniam providentiæ Dei ejusdemque judiciorum cæcus est omnis homo et ex toto ignarus, quod rex virtuose complere proposuit, Deus in contrarium repente immutavit. Quia dum fixa obsidione usque ad ipsam captivitatem comitissam claudere intenderet, inter tot hostes, inter tot nocturni silentii excubitores, quos rex ex omni castelli parte curiose disposuerat, mirandis illa modis illæsa evasit. Escis namque et omni vivendi solatio pæne in castello exhaustis, rege quoque viribus animose et machinis ad illud obtinendum desudante, illa plurimum coartata venturique ex toto desperata subsidii, tribus prudentis ingenii se comitantibus militibus, e castello noctu egreditur, perque nivem et gelu (nix etenim in omni abundantissime terra incanduerat, et gelu horridissime aquis induruerat) sex ferme milliariis cum summo sui comitumque labore pedestris incessit, quodque manifesti fuit miraculi indicium, per ipsas, quæ super regis suorumque capita, dum ad civitatem expugnandam transmearent, inundaverant, aquas, illa sicca pedes immadida omnino vestes transmisit, perque regis excubias, qui noctis silentia hinc cornicinum stridore, inde ululantium in altum clamore, ubique rumpebant,[2] nullo omnino, exceptis suis et uno tantum ex regia parte, conscio[3] egressionisque illius solo proditore, libere, ut dictum

The besieged reduced to great extremities.

Escape of the empress (shortly before Christmas) est, e castello et illæse secessit, civitatemque Walengefordiam cum plurimo labore noctu advenit. Nescio autem utrum ad gloriæ ipsius cumulum in futurum dilatandum, vel ad regni inquietudinem ex Dei judicio enixius exaggerandam, sed nunquam aliam de tot sui capitis hostibus, de tantis imminentibus[1] sibi periculis tam fortunate surreptam legimus feminam; dum verum sit et ex castello Arundel inter medios adversarios indemnem eam exisse, et ex medio Londoniensium in illam solam cum plena indignatione insurgentium incolumiter evasisse; inde ex Wintoniensi dispersione, omnibus fere suis interceptis, solam mirabiliter elapsam fuisse; hinc ex Oxenofordensi obsidione discessam sane, ut præmissum est, diffugisse.

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[1] *impudentem*, D.

[2] *rumpebatur*, D.

[3] Dr. Sewell here alters the text, reading and punctuating thus: "*nullo omnino suis capto, et* "*uno tantum ex regia parte con-* "*scio, ...*" The author's sentence is awkward, but perfectly grammatical.

A.D. 1142.

to Wallingford.

Cum igitur rex animadverteret, primam regni sui et pacis inquietatricem, quam omnibus anhelantius comprehendere sitiebat, furtivis, ut dictum est, latebris imminens periculum devitasse, superstitiosum et inutile judicavit tritam laboriose obsidionem diutius protelare; dum tot undique coarctantibus se inimicis, facile perversi sibi casus subrepere[2] posset infortunium; maxime quia Robertus comes Glaornia simul sororem audivit obsessam, nec virtute sufficienti suffragari prævaluit, castellum de Warham, ubi se regales receperant, obsedit et obtinuit, et ad alia in eum incommoda intendenda viriliter se semper et intrepide accinxit.[3] Consilio itaque suorum prudenter permonitus, redditum a comitissæ militibus castellum suscepit, suisque impositis latissimæ provinciæ dominium illis in partibus

Stephen determines to break up the siege.

Robert of Gloucester takes the castle of Wareham.

The castle of Oxford is surrendered to the king.

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[1] *eminentibus*, D.

[2] *surripere*, D.

[3] This was a considerable time before Maud's escape from Oxford. The earl, it appears from Malmesbury, p. 768, had captured the isle of Portland and Lulworth castle, and then, "*jam ingresso Adventu*," had summoned all his forces to meet him at Cirencester with a view to the relief of Oxford. While maturing his plans he heard that his sister was out of danger.

A.D. 1143.

Stephen marches to Wareham, and lays waste the adjoining country.

Prepares to fortify Wilton.

The bishop of Winchester and other barons join Stephen.

The earl of Gloucester gives battle at Wilton.

Stephen narrowly escapes being made prisoner.

potenter exercuit. Deinde pauco dilapso tempore,[1] cum instructissima militantium manu civitatem Warham, ubi comes Glaorniæ castellum munitissime firmarat, advenit: vidensque locum intentissime munitum, igne ubique et gladio crudelis desæviit, direptisque et spoliatis quæcumque occurrerant, ad civitatem Wiltonam, ut comitis per provincias inhiberet excursus, castellum offirmaturus accessit. Affuit et episcopus Wintoniensis cum valida virorum militarium manu, nisum illius astipulaturus, baronesque ex omnibus Angliæ partibus mandati, vel cum adveniente rege convenerant, vel prope affuturi cum omnibus auxiliis suis ad eum confluebant. Quod ubi comiti Glaornensi certis deferentibus nunciis manifestum fuit, mandatis confestim totius virtutis suæ primis coadjutoribus, cum rege conflicturus Wiltoniam devenit. Cumque rex, exercitu ad præliandum comminus in turmas hinc inde ordinato, ex adverso e civitate prodisset, comes, quos secum adduxerat, caute et conserte in tres cuneos bellico more divisit, irruensque fortiter in adversarios, cedere regem constantissime coegit, et nisi cum episcopo Wintoniensi fugæ præsidium velocius inisset, in hostiles secunda vice manus turpissime incidisset.[2]

Resistance of William Martel.

Willelmus autem quidam, cognomento Martellus, vir illustris, fide quoque et amicitia potissimum regi connexus, cum militibus sibi assentaneis viriliter dimicando aliquantulum restitit: sed quia major regalis exercitus copia quaquaversum cum rege dispersa confugerat, invictaque hostilis multitudinis atrocitas urgentissime[1] illum circumveniebat, captus postremo cum plurimis aliis detinetur. Deinde comes, fortuna sibi tam auspicato aspirante, regales in civitatem et templa, securas dispersionis suæ latebras repetentes, animose persequitur, injectisque ubique per civitatem ignibus, diem lacrymarum totiusque crudelitatis reddidit plenam: dum cunctis palam esset omnes rapina et gladio, violentia et incendio, hinc in miseros cives, inde in quos repperant regales dirissime desævire, quodque majoris erat ejulatus, reverendum genitricis Dei, et sanctæ Etheldridæ[2] virginis, professionique addictarum virginum cœnobium, confractis truculentissime januis, expilavere, quique sese præsidii causa intus contulerant, calcata impudenter pietate, loris innexis foras abstraxere.[3] Et quidem, quanquam justum videatur cum adversariis perverse debere contendere, et mensura, qua nobis mensi fuerint, æqua illis vice remetiri, eximie tamen comes Glaornensis suique fautores culpandi, temerariæque præsumptionis præcipue notandi, quia templum animarum duntaxat et depressorum notissimum omni ætate refugium, non solum violarunt, sed et, qui spe salutis et securitatis causa introrsum confugerant, cum nudis ab altari abstractos gladiis captivitati addixerunt. Nec impune quidem. Justus namque calamitatum suis injuste illatarum respector Deus, qui reddit impiis in caput secundum quod promerentur, acerbissimam in eos[4] exercuit ultionem. Quia Roberti Glaornensis comitis filius, specialis scilicet propagationis suæ splendor et decus, immatura non multo post morte præventus interiit. Comes quoque Herefordiæ, Milo, fomes tanti mali et instigator, sine

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[1] The surrender of Oxford occurred about Christmas, so Wareham can hardly have been reached in force before Jan. 1. Probably this is the dividing point of the years 1142, 1143.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon, p. 276, places the defeat at Wilton in the same year as the siege of Oxford. Gervase, i. 125, gives a precise date, 1st *July* 1143, and the *Annal. Wav.*, p. 229, place the battle in 1143. The sequence of the present chronicle completes the evidence against Huntingdon, but it also makes it appear probable that an error, *Julii* instead of *Januarii*, has crept into the chronicle of Gervase, whose dates at this period are not satisfactory. Indeed (see note 1 on p. 96), he makes another mistake at this point as to Milo of Gloucester.

A.D. 1143.

Stephen's army routed; Martel made prisoner.

Wilton burnt.

The nunnery of St. Mary and St. Etheldreda violated.

Retributive justice.

The death of one of the sons of Robert of Gloucester soon follows.

Milo earl of Hereford dies within the year.

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[1] *augentissime*, D.

[2] The nunnery of Wilton, as Mr. Stevenson notes.

[3] Robert Fitz Hildebrand did this (see p. 98).

[4] *eis*, D.

A.D. 1143.

William, the castellan of Salisbury, died of a painful illness.

Robert Fitz Hildebrand subsequently perished horribly.

confessionis verbo, sine pœnitentiæ fructu, ipso in anno sagittatus interiit.[1] Willelmus nihilominus civitatis Saresbiriæ præceptor eo tempore et municeps, horrendis in somnis, ipsa Virgine, ut aiunt, sibi assistente, deterritus minis, sed et dirissimis inevitabilis ægritudinis correptus flagellis, lento tandem cruciatu tortus interiit. Robertus etiam filius Heldebranti, vir infimi generis, sed summæ semper malitiæ machinator, atrocissimo et nostris seculis inaudito vexatus cruciatu, ad extrema devenit, sicut in sequentibus plenius enarrabimus.[2] Sed et alii nonnulli, divinæ animadversionis experti vindictam, crudelitatis ob temerariam præfati sacrilegii præsumptionem excepere sententiam: de quibus plurima præsenti operi inserere desudarem, nisi et legentibus tædium ingerere, et longe a materia viderer aberrare.

Robert of Gloucester returns to Bristol.

Regains the castle of Sherborne.

Robertus igitur, Glaornensis comes, tali modo apud Wiltonam victoria potitus, cum multis exeniis, cum Willelmo etiam Martello aliisque innumeris captivis, Bristoam adveniens, in arctissimæ eum custodiæ districtionem retrusit; donec tandem reddito, quod illius subdebatur potestati, Siresburniæ castello, latissimæ provinciæ indeptus [3] fuit principatum. Quicumque itaque regi favebant misere eo in tempore depressi humiliabantur, tum quia rex a Wiltonica congressione, suis captivatis, ignominiose diffugerat, tum quia castellum præfatum, quod una erat totius regni clavis, comes Glaornensis in sui juris dominium susceperat.

The earl's further successes.

Et comes quidem suique consentanei victoriose se postmodum hilariterque continere, regnum latissime in suæ potestatis jura redigere, castella, ista a regalibus possessa ardenter et virtuose destruere, illa ad eos

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[1] Gervase, i. 126, says a few days after the fight at Wilton; but John of Hexham (Twysden, 273) tells us that Milo was killed by an arrow while hunting on 24 Dec. 1143. The present chronicle, on p. 103, gives the same day and month as the prior of Hexham and, by sequence, the same year.

[2] See p. 98.

[3] *indemptus*, D.

A.D. 1143.

His endeavour to govern well.

enixius edomandos triumphatissime surrigere, dimidiamque fere Angliam a mari in latus usque ad mare legibus suis et præceptis, sine omni omnino resistente, addicere. Hoc autem illius dominium, pace et tranquillitate ubique reformata, plurimum decorabat, excepto quod in castellis suis ædificandis operariorum exactiones ab omnibus exigebat; et quotiens cum adversariis esset congrediendum, omnium sibi auxilia asciscebat, vel in militibus mittendis, vel in æris descriptione reddenda. Et erat quidem illis in partibus * umbra quædam pacis, sed pax necdum perfecta: quia nihil compatriotas anxius angebat quam non sibi sed aliis laborare, materiamque discordiæ et belli suis quoquomodo ensibus adaugere.

Henry de Tracy upholds the cause of Stephen.

Omnibus igitur in ea regionis parte comitem sequentibus, solus Henricus de Traceio, vires regis roborans, inflexibiliter omnibus resistere, bellum intestinum, congressiones assiduas cum adversariis agere, cum singulis ubique committere, quousque omnibus protervæ insectationis illius importunitate pæne afflictis, pacem cum eis ad tempus statuere decrevit, quoad et rex illis in partibus potentior, et regio sibi belli sedatis tumultibus esset subjectior.

Quarrel of William de Pont de l'Arche and the bishop of Winchester.

Secundum hoc tempus Willelmus de Ponte Arcarum, vir, ut relatum est, regi Henrico suisque postumis fidelissimus, gravissimam in fratrem regis, episcopum[1] Wintoniensem, dissensionem promovit. Verum quia episcopus cum fortissima militantium manu fortiter semper et constantissime restitit, omnesque illius conatus non solum viribus sed et prudentiæ suæ discretione delusit, dominam suam, Andegavensem comitissam, scriptis delegatis postulavit, ut ei, in auxilium suum, plurimum equestrium virorum suffragium, quique illis præesset, artis militariæ callidum ducem et propugnatorem transmitteret. Illi autem, viri petitione suscepta, admodum congaudebant, vel quia episcopi vires

He applies to the empress for assistance against the bishop.

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[1] *episcoporum*, D.

A.D. 1143. per hunc facilius edomandas credebant, vel quia suas hinc partes præcipue roboratas confidebant, eo quod non solum constans esset et quibus favebat fidissimus, verum quia æris et divitiarum erat idem refertissimus. Robert Fitz Hildebrand is sent. Miserunt itaque Robertum filium Heldebrandi, virum plebeium quidem, sed militari virtute approbatum, quodque militantium florem et gloriam dedecorat et confundit, cupedinarius fuit idem, bibax et impudicus. Cumque cum florida militum caterva adveniens gratantissime susceptus fuisset, secretorumque Willelmi He falls in love with the wife of William de Pont de l'Arche. ex toto conscius, vices ingrediendi castellum ipsius egrediendique pro libitu frequentaret, cupidine vulneratus uxorem in amplexus suos conscivit, habitoque ex communi sui et uxoris assensu pessimo et detestando Imprisons him. consilio, Willelmum, compede tenacissime astrictum, carcerali in custodia reposuit, castelloque illius, divitiis, et uxore fruens, relicta quoque et aspernata comitissa, Traitorously enters into a treaty with Stephen and the bishop. quæ gloriose illuc eum direxerat, cum rege et episcopo fœdus inivit. Nec impune, ut præmissum est, tam sceleratæ tamque infidæ factionis audaciam temerarius ille incestor moliri præsumpsit: quia ex quo in meretricios adulteræ sinus perfidus impudicator accubuit, His shocking death. justissimo Deo injustitiæ illius ultore, vermis quidam inter vitalia illius innatus irrepsit, lentoque morsu interiora exedens, paulatim sceleratum depavit, multisque tandem vexatum questubus, multis etiam et horrendis tortum cruciatibus, dignissimo supplicio ad extrema deduxit. Et hæc quidem non solum ob perfidam sceleratamque vitam, sed et quia sacratam venerabili virgini Adeldridæ[1] ustulavit ecclesiam, Deo vindice, mirabiliter pertulit.

Dreadful state of England. Hac sub tempestate Anglia multis diversisque modis turbari; hinc a rege suisque suffraganeis vehementissime angustiari, inde a Glaornensi comite turbatissime tribulari; nunc effrenes istorum impetus, nunc indiscretos illorum tolerare tumultus; semper autem et

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[1] See p. 95, note 1 and p. 96.

A.D. 1143.

ubique commoveri cœpit, et in solitudinem redigi. Alii patriæ dulcedinem in nauseantem amaritudinem intuentes conversam, exteras magis regiones inhabitare eligere; alii circa templa, spe videlicet se contutandi, humilia contexentes tuguria, in metu et ærumna vitam ducere; isti cibariis deficientibus (fames namque in omni Anglia dirissime invaluerat) vetitis et insuetis canum vel equorum carnibus vesci, illi herbarum vel radicum crudam illuviem[1] ad famem relevandam insatiabili morsu consumere; pars hominum, ubique provinciarum, famis prævalente angustia tabescens catervatim mori, pars, cum omni familia spontaneum lugubriter subiens exilium, exterminari. Videres famosissimi nominis villas, defunctis totius sexus et ætatis colonis, solitarias stare et prorsus evacuatas, agros cultissima segete albescentes, suberat enim in vicino autumnus, sed eorum cultores, pestifera fame intercurrente, de medio sublatos, totamque Angliam vultum doloris et calamitatis, faciem miseriæ et oppressionis ubique induisse. Ad tantorum autem accedebat cumulum malorum, quod effera barbarorum multitudo, quæ gratia militandi, facto grege, Angliam confluxerat, nec visceribus pietatis, nec humanæ compassionis affectu super tot tantisque miseriis frangebatur; sed ubique per castella in scelus et flagitium committendum unanimiter conspirare, in rebus pauperum diripiendis insatiabiliter vacare, in discordiis alterutrim[que] promovendis, in cædibus passim peragendis toti malitiosi animi studio intendere. Cumque barones, qui eos in auxilium suum ex remotissimis provinciis consciverant, nec ex propriis redditibus stipendia prorogare, nec inexpletam eorundem sitim ex prædarum, ut consueverant, spoliis poterant remunerare (quia nihil indisreptum indistractumque ubivis locorum reliquerant) ecclesiarum possessiones, vel ubicumque suis affinius

State of England at the end of the summer of 1143.

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[1] *ingluviem*, D.

A.D. 1143. cohærebant municipiis, vel quos aliis in locis missis competentius agminibus infestare valebant, nunc calumniis et violentiis impiissime gravare, nunc angariis et tributis atrocissime premere; istas clanculo vel aperte, rebus deprædatione distractis, nudare, illas in proprii juris dominium inverecunde redigere. Si quis autem vel reverendæ personæ monachus, vel nominatæ auctoritatis clericus, pro illata rebus ecclesiasticis exactione conquesturus accederet, injuriosis protinus contumeliis affici, minis in faciem impudenter prætextis irreverenter absterreri, sæpe itineris sui comministri gravissimo verbere, ipso conspicante, vexari; sæpe idem ipse, cujuscumque dignitatis esset vel ordinis, spoliis, quæ secum detulerat, incompassive subtractis, aut inhonore nudatus, e suo prospectu repelli, aut atrocissima verberis contusione defatigatus relinqui.[1] Et hæc quidem lacrymosæ miseriæ facies, hic questuosæ tragœdiæ inhonestissimus modus, sicut ubique per Angliam publice committebantur, ita et ad episcoporum aures ubique deferebantur. Sed illi timore vilissime depressi, ut arundo vento agitata inflectebantur, habentesque sal infatuatum,[2] non ascendebant ex adverso, nec se murum pro domo Israel opponebant. Deberent namque gladio verbi Dei, qui devorat carnes, carnaliter sapientibus occurrere; filiisque Belial, qui rebus ecclesiasticis violenter incumbebant, tunicamque Domini particulatim sibi diripientes, laceram ubique locorum et discissam reliquerant, Hieremiæ faciem cornutamque Moysi frontem viriliter offerre. Ideo namque ipsi per columnas, quæ domum Dei sustentant, per leunculos, qui labrum illud Salomonis supportant, per bases, quæ mensam propositionis sustentant, exprimuntur; quatinus ecclesiam, quæ vere est et dicitur domus Dei, quæ et per labrum designatur,

Treatment of ecclesiastics by the barons.

Unworthy conduct of the bishops.

Ezech. xiii. 5.

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[1] This reads like a personal experience.

[2] *insulsum*, Vulg., Marc. ix. 30.

A.D. 1143.

quia ibi peccatorum sordes multis modis diluuntur, quæ nihilominus per mensam figuratur, quia ibi vitæ æternæ fercula proponuntur, non solum sustinere et fortem efficere, sed et ab adversariis fortiter semper et inexpugnate debent defendere. Episcopi autem e contrario, prædonibus ecclesiarum possessiones ubique, ut sæpius propalatum est, diripientibus, alii metu illorum inerter depressi, aut succumbebant, aut tepide et remisse separationis sententiam non diu permansuram inferebant; alii, quod tamen non erat opus episcoporum, castella sua escis et armorum copiis, militibus et sagittariis refertissime supplebant, dumque maleficos rerumque ecclesiasticarum direptores arcere putarentur, ipsis maleficis in vicinis suis opprimendis, in rebus eorum diripiendis crudeliores semper et magis immisericordes extiterant. Ipsi nihilominus, ipsi episcopi, quod pudet quidem dicere, non tamen omnes, sed plurimi ex omnibus, ferro accincti, armis decentissime instructi, cum patriæ perversoribus superbissimis invehi equis, prædæ participari; milites bellica sorte interceptos, vel pecuniosos, quibuscumque occurrerent, vinculis et cruciatibus exponere; et dum ipsi tanti sceleris, tantique flagitii caput essent et causa, non sibi solebant, sed suis militibus tantum nefas ascribere. Et ut de ceteris impræsentiarum taceam, indecens namque est omnes pariter carpere, episcopos Wintoniæ, Lincolniæ, et Cestriæ, tantæ irreligionis studiis ceteris enixius intentos[1] fama publice declamabat.

They build castles and oppress the people.

Verum quamvis ecclesiasticus rigor, scelere ubique et impietate prævalente, inflexus, ut præmissum est, vacillavit, non tamen Robertus Herefordensis antistes, vir piæ religionis summæque constantiæ, a statu religionis, a tramite justitiæ exorbitavit, sed armis assumptis, quibus Apostolus evangelicum hominem

Spirited conduct of Robert bishop of Hereford.

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[1] *inrentos*, perhaps for *intentos*, D.

A.D. 1143.

His opposition to the illegal demands of the earl of Hereford.

curiose armat et sollicite instruit, viriliter se contra Catholicæ pacis adversarios clipeum defensionis tandem opposuit. Cum enim Herefordiæ comes ad conducendam, quam adversus regem congregarat, militiam ære plurimo indigeret, novæ exactionis tributa sub sui dominii jugo redactas ecclesias reddere coegit, ipsumque Herefordiæ præsulem hinc jure, ut sibi videbatur, astringens, inde minis ni acquiesceret absterrens, injunctæ tyrannidis munus reddere postulavit; cumque illum frequentius urgeret, episcopus libera fronte et constanti animo persolvere postulata abnegavit, asserens res ecclesiasticas, per pias devotæ plebis oblationes altari assignatas, in ipsius Dei manus[1] ad ecclesiæ servitium perpetuo mancipatas, nec secularis personæ esse officium, plus quam in sanctæ ipsas ecclesiæ res[2] quoquomodo inferre dominium, sicque per earundem direptionem incurrere sacrilegium, tanquam in ipsum quis altare[3] exercuisset commissum. Quamobrem aut a nefaria præsumptione se et suos arceret, aut gladio anathematis se et suos incunctanter percelleret.

Threatens him with excommunication.

The earl invades the bishop's lands.

Talia episcopo prosequente, furibundus Milo in iram exarsit, missisque qui opes et terras episcopii,[4] ubicumque essent, invaderent, omnem in eis depopulationem exegit. Episcopus igitur, clero in unum conventum haud pigranter ascito, metuendam ecclesiasticæ percussionis sententiam in Milonem suæque temeritatis astipulatores dictavit,[5] omnemque circumquaque sui juris provinciam in tantum sententiæ rigore astrinxit, ut nec divini cultus officium celebrare, nec corpus humo imponere, vel aqua immergere, vel igne consumere, sed nec a loco, quo expiravit, dimovere liceret, quousque tandem sacrilegii præsumptor, omnibus quæ diripuit, usque ad novissimum quadrantem, fidejusso-

The bishop pronounces sentence of excommunication against him and his followers.

The diocese laid under interdict.

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[1] *manu*, D.

[2] *sancta ipsis . . . rebus*, D.

[3] *ipso . . . altari*, D.

[4] See Glossary.

[5] See Foliot, *Ep.* iii., ed. Giles.

ribus interpositis, redditis, pœnitentiæ satisfactione ad ecclesiam revocatus accessit. Verum quia quæ reddere spopondit fidejussores post hoc persolvere oportuit, dumque uni ecclesiæ satisfecit, perplures per hoc impediens ecclesias oneravit, quorum pastores inter se et episcopum plegios esse coegit, in ipso anno, dum in sacro vigiliarum Nativitatis Domini die cervis insidiaretur, a milite, sagittam imprudenter in cervum dirigente, pectus transforatus, sine pœnitentiæ fructu miserabiliter occubuit.[1] Cujus interitus in nonnullis divitibus, ne ecclesiarum possessiones tam abrupte postea pervaderent, aliquanto majorem terrorem incussit, et reliquos per Angliam episcopos ad obsistendum deinceps temerariæ divitum præsumptioni audaciores effecit. Successit dehinc in comitatum Herefordiæ Rogerius, Milonis filius, juvenis quidem ætate, sed eximiæ probitatis decus.

Milo earl of Hereford is killed by accident (Dec. 24).

Is succeeded by his son Roger.

Fuit eo in tempore ex his qui rege obtemperabant Galfridus de Magnavilla, vir sicut prudentis animi ingenio spectabilis, ita et in adversis inflexibilis virtutis constantia, militarisque studii probitate admirabilis; qui omnes regni primates et divitiarum potentia et dignitatis excedebat opulentia; turrim quoque Londoniarum in manu, sed et castella inexpugnabilis fortitudinis circa civitatem constructa habebat, omnemque regni partem, quæ se regi subdiderat, ut ubique per regnum regis vices adimplens et in rebus agendis rege avidius exaudiretur, et in præceptis injungendis plus ei quam regi obtemperaretur. Quod ægre ferentes illi præcipue, qui se familiariori dilectione regi conjunctius devinxerant, tum quia Galfridus, ut videbatur, omnia regni jura sibi callide usurparat, tum quia regnum, ut in ore jam vulgi celebre fuerat,

Geoffrey de Mandeville.

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[1] See p. 16. He was buried, after a dispute over his body with the monks of Gloucester, at Lanthony Priory. See *Ep. Gilb. Foliot*, lxv. There are interesting references to him in *Epp.* iii. and vi.

A.D. 1143.

Is accused by the nobles of treason.

comitissæ Andegavensi conferre disposuerat, ad hoc regem secreta persuasione impulerunt, quatinus Galfridum de proditionis infamia notatum caperet, et redditis quæcumque possederat castellis, et rex post hinc securus, et regnum ipsius haberetur pacatius.

Quarrel between Geoffrey and the barons.

Rege multo tempore differente, ne regia majestas turpi proditionis opprobrio infamaretur, subito inter Galfridum et barones, injuriis et minis utrinque protensis, orta seditio: cumque rex habitam inter eos dissensionem, sedatis partibus, niteretur dirimere, affuerunt quidam, qui Galfridum de proditionis factione in se

Geoffrey is accused, and ridicules the charge.

et suos machinata, libera fronte accusabant. Cumque se de objecto crimine minime purgaret, sed turpissimam infamiam verbis jocosis alludendo infringeret,

Is taken prisoner at St. Albans.

rex et qui præsentes erant barones Galfridum et suos repente ceperunt. Hæc autem, ut relata sunt, apud sanctum Albanum effecta contigerunt.[1]

Stephen threatens to hang him.

Rex igitur Galfridum, custodiis arctissime adhibitis, Londonias adducens, ni turrim et quæ miro labore et artificio erexerat castella, in manus ejus committeret,

He obtains his liberty by surrender of his castles.

suspendio cruciari paravit: cum salubri amicorum persuasus consilio, ut imminens inhonestæ mortis periculum, castellis redditis, devitaret, regis voluntati tandem satisfecit, regnique totius communem ad jacturam, tali modo liberatus, de medio illorum evasit. Ferus namque et turbulentus, per tyrannidis suæ commotionem totum Angliæ regnum in dissensionem validius commovit, dum et regis adversarii, audientes eum in regem arma sumpsisse, tanti comitis roborati suffragio, promptius et hilarius ad discordiam ubique ingerendam convolarent, et qui regis fautores esse videbantur, tanquam horrendo depressi tonitruo, pro illius a rege discessione magis ac magis humiliabantur.

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[1] W. of Newburgh tells us (see vol. i., pp. 44–48) many interesting particulars which may be compared with some of the succeeding pages of the present chronicle. It appears from Newburgh that de Mandeville, apparently a considerable time before his seizure at St. Albans, had captured the princess Constance, and had detained her in the Tower of London. He gave her up, and seemed to think that the outrage had been forgotten.

Raises forces, and ravages the whole country.

Galfridus igitur, ubique in regno fide sibi et hominio conjuratis in unum secum cuneum convocatis, gregariæ quoque militiæ, sed et prædonum, qui undecumque devote concurrerant, robustissima manu in suum protinus conspirata collegium, ignibus et gladio ubique locorum desævire; gregum et armentorum deprædationi avidus et insatiabilis incumbere; omnia adversus regiæ partis consentaneos abripere et consumere, nudare et destruere; nulli ætati, nulli professioni parcere, sed insatiatæ atrocitatis sitim ubique exæstuans, quicquid exquisitæ crudelitatis menti occurrebat, instantissime in adversarios complere. Civitatem namque Cantebrigam, regio juri subditam, incautis in eam civibus irruens cepit et deprædavit, ecclesiasque ostiis securibus immersis, violenter confregit, distractisque spoliis, et quas cives in eis recondiderant opes, flammas passim injecit, talique ferocitate in omnem circumquaque provinciam, in omnibus etiam, quascumque obviam habebat, ecclesiis, immiseranter desæviit; possessiones cœnobiorum, distractis rebus, depopulatis omnibus, in solitudinem redegit; sanctuaria eorum, vel quæcumque in ærariis concredita reponebantur, sine metu vel pietate ferox abripuit;[1] cœnobiumque sancti Benedicti de Ramesia, non solum captis monachorum spoliis, altaribus quoque et sanctorum reliquiis nudatis, expilavit, sed etiam expulsis incompassive monachis de monasterio, militibusque impositis, castellum sibi adaptavit.[2]

Surprises and plunders Cambridge.

He pillages the churches,

and religious houses, especially the abbey of Ramsey.

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[1] *abrepsit*, D.

[2] H. Hunt., p. 277, includes the seizure of Ramsey abbey within the year 1143. John of Hexham and the Ramsey Cartulary agree. Perhaps, then, this is the dividing point of the years 1143, 1144.

Our author omits Stephen's failure at Lincoln in 1144, mentioned by Huntingdon and the *Ann. de Theokesb.*, p. 46, although he refers on p. 107 to the earl of Chester's warlike operations.

A.D. 1144.

Stephen marches against de Mandeville, who escapes him, and pursues his depredations in other quarters. Stephen withdraws, leaving forces to keep him in check. De Mandeville joins himself with Hugh Bigod.

Cum igitur primum tam temerariæ commotionis rex audisset præsumptionem, effrenemque Galfridi in omnem circumquaque patriam eruptionem, ad tam præcipitis insaniæ ausus cohibendos, cum validissimæ militiæ apparatu, festinus advenit. Sed dum ille se a regis occursu callide dimoveret, et nunc securas fugæ suæ latebras in locis palustribus, quæ in ea maxime regionis parte exuberant, celeriter repeteret, nunc provinciam, qua eum rex fuerat persecutus, cum suis relinquens, aliorsum turbationem excitaturus versute diverteret, rex solitos illius in eadem patria excursus prudenter attentans impedire, in locis opportunis castella construxit, militibusque, qui patriæ perditoribus[1] resisterent, sufficienter impositis, ad alia explenda regni negotia alio divertit. Galfridus autem, rege discesso, in eos, quos ad se infestandum reliquerat, omnes conaminis sui vires impiger exercuit, sibique regis adversariis, quotquot e diverso confluxerant, sociatis, Hugone quoque cognomento Bigot, viro illustri et in illis partibus potenti, sibi confœderato, quia et ipse regni pacem regisque virtutem instantissime, ut præmissum est, turbabat, omnem patriam atrox ubique et in omnem sexum et ordinem immitis commovit. Verum tantarum tamque immanium persecutionum, tam crudelium quoque, quas in omnes ingerebat, calamitatum justissimus tandem respector Deus, dignum malitiæ suæ finem imposuit. Quia dum nimis audax, nimisque prudentiæ suæ innitens regiæ virtutis castella frequentius circumstreperet, ab ipsis tandem regalibus circumventus prosternitur;[2] et sicut, dum viveret, ecclesiam confudit, terram turbavit, sic, ad eum confundendum tota Angliæ conspiravit ecclesia;

De Mandeville is slain (August).

Is refused the rites of burial.

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[1] *perlitoribus*, D.

[2] See Gervase, i. 128 and *Monast. Angl.* ii. 548. He was attacking Burwell, and was shot by an archer of the garrison. William de Saye also perished. Huntingdon contributes the date.

quia et anathematis gladio percussus et inabsolutus abscessit, et terræ sacrilegum dari non licuit.[1]

A.D. 1144.

Fresh disturbances in England.

Isto itaque tali modo ad extrema deducto, nox quædam et horror omnes regis adversarios implevit, quique ex dissensione a Galfrido exorta regis annisum maxime infirmari putabant, nunc, eo interfecto, liberiorem et ad se perturbandum, ut res se habebat, expeditiorem fore æstimabant. Nec tamen se a scelere et impietate, qua semel imbuebantur, aliquatenus cohibebant, sed maligno eos spiritu in omne nefas propellente, tanto se ad discordiam enixius accingebant, et ad omne nefas, in omnibus Angliæ partibus, ardentius peragendum proruebant. Comes namque Cestriæ universam illam Borealem plagam continua persecutione affligere; regis barones, quotquot sibi erant affiniores, jugi insectatione gravare, et nunc quidem eorum municipia furtis clandestinis surripere, sibique inclinare; nunc igne et gladio eorum possessiones et terras hostica depopulatione delere; bellumque tantum et afflictionem anhelans, furibundus cunctis et intolerabilis occurrere.[2] Joannes[3] quoque, stipes inferni et totius radix malitiæ, qui Merlebergensi præerat castello, infatigabili inquietudine regnum turbare; castella miri artificii in locis sibi competentioribus construere; terras ecclesiarum et possessiones in proprii juris dominium, expulsis cujusvis ordinis possessoribus, redigere; cumque ecclesiasticæ militiæ gladio percelleretur, non ob hoc flexus, sed magis ac magis fuit induratus; quia et summi ordinis ministros ad suum, facto grege, castellum cogebat statutis diebus accurrere, et eis, quasi

Hostilities by the earl of Chester.

John le Marshal, castellan of Marlborough, plunders the clergy.

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[1] He was wrapped in lead and hung on an apple tree in the Temple, and afterwards buried in the churchyard by the Templars. See Dugdale's Monast. (ed. 1655), vol. i., p. 450.

[2] John of Hexham (Twysden, 273) says that the earl of Chester and Gilbert de Gant so persecuted William earl of York that he was forced to intrench himself in the abbey of St. Mary, Bridlington. Cf. W. of Newburgh, p. 47.

[3] As to John Fitz Gilbert, otherwise John de Marshal, see pp. 66, note 2 and 67, note 2.

A.D. 1144.

Hostilities in the South by the sons of Robert earl of Gloucester.

episcopali perfungens imperio, vel de tributi solutione vel de operum compulsu, mandatum inexpugnabile solebat injungere.[1] Filii quoque Roberti Glaornensis comitis, viri ætate agiles et perprompti, in arte quoque militari assiduo studio exercitati, regnum in meridiana ejus parte turbare; patrisque virtute et constantia animati, istic, ubi competentius providerant, castella erigere, illic a vicinis furtive surripere; nunc in adversarios, facto agmine, constanter irruere, nunc eorum terras gladio et deprædatione ubique vastare. Et quidem isti peramplam regionis partem, a mari ex transverso usque ad mare, patris in omnibus prævalente industria, invaserant, nactoque tandem amplissimi dominii principatu, pacem simulantes, leges et plebiscita ubique injungebant: et licet armis et deprædationi erga sibi tantum consentientes parcere viderentur, siti tamen avaritiæ laborantes, tributis assiduis, placitis, et angariis omnes involvebant.

Hostilities by Stephen de Mandeville.

Stephanus nihilominus de Magnavilla, vir illustris militarique industria[2] præcluis, qui et partes comitis Damnoniæ vehementer attollebat, plurimam in regno discordiam excitare; in præruptis locorum præcipitiis, ubi vetusta ætas, urgente necessitate, castella locarat, denuo reparare; latissimas circumquaque provincias sub tyrannidis suæ jugo flectere; regis fautoribus, ubicumque vicinius occurrebant, molestissimus esse. Isti omnes, sed et alii nonnulli, quos omittimus in præsenti dinumerare, ne tædiosum legenti ingeramus fastidium, regiam potestatem frequentissime infirmabant. Cumque dissensionem in regno exortam nunc rex istis nunc illis in locis avidus mitigaret, omnes in unum repente conglobati, propositum illius vigilantissime cassabant. Tali modo et regales singulis in Angliæ provinciis, nunc viribus collatis, nunc furtivis

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[1] See Gilbert Foliot, *Ep.* xiv., ed. Giles.

[2] *militarisque industriæ*, D., but almost the same phrase, in right form, appears on p. 132.

A.D. 1144.

Wretched state of England.

incursibus, ubicumque opportunius judicabant castella surrigebant; istisque et illis mutuis deprædationibus, alternis concursibus sibi obviantibus, regnum jubili prius et quietis, tranquillitatis et pacis, in tristitiam et discordiam, in cædem et vastationem ubique commutarunt.

William de Dover attacks Cricklade.

Eo in tempore Willelmus de Dovre, vir studii militaris, callidus et acer, comitis Glaorniæ viribus suffultus, ad villam, quæ Crichelada dicitur, in loco delicioso totiusque opulentiæ abundanti sitam, devenit; castellumque, aquis se et paludibus undique objicientibus, inaccessum ferventissime erexit, militibusque stipendiariis, sed et sagittantium turmis secum copiose comitatis, immitis et inquietus quaquaversum rapiebatur; patriam sibi, ex utroque Tamisii fluvii margine, latissime subjiciens, in regales crudelissime effervebat. Et nunc revera feroci incursione circa eorum castella desæviens, nunc nocturnis in latebris insidias texens, nunquam ab assidua eorum infestatione vacabat, nunquam utriusvis partis periculi immunis habebatur. Quanquam etiam ad regales impediendos impiger et accinctus ubique videretur, circa eos tamen, qui Oxenefordensem incolebant civitatem, vel Malmesbiriensi præerant municipio, sæpius et ferventius desæviebat: quia vicini, ei occurrentes, se et suos frequentius perturbabant. Comes quoque Glaornensis, erectis in brevi prope Malmesbiriam tribus castellis, dum rex in sedandis belli tumultibus alibi detineretur, non solum consuetos eorum per patriam caute præpedivit excursus, verum usque ad impendentem[1] famis inediam jugiter eos et constanter coercuit.

Extends his predatory expeditions to Oxford and Malmesbury.

The earl of Gloucester blockades the latter place.

The king relieves, and victuals Malmesbury.

Ceterum, ubi rex de tanta suorum afflictione vera percepit, immensa protinus militariæ multitudinis copia convocata, Malmesbiriam subitus et insperatus advenit, * escisque ad plurimi temporis sufficientiam impositis, circa castella, quæ comes extruxerat, deprædatione,

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[1] *impudentem*, D.

A.D. 1144.

Encamps at Tetbury.

Attacks the castles of the earl of Gloucester.

igne, et gladio atrocissime ubique invaluit; fixisque circa Tetebiriam tentoriis, castellum duntaxat tribus a Malmesbiria distans milliariis, viribus et armis ad capiendum constantissime desudavit; ulteriore quoque castelli propugnaculo virtuose tandem adquisito, militibusque nonnullis captis et interemptis, aliis autem spississime vulneratis et intra interiorem recessum in angustum locellum catervatim redactis, machinas instantissime undique applicuit, et obsidione eos claudere proposuit. Comes autem Glaornensis, cum regis primum comperisset adventum, immensam quantocius militum sibi ascivit frequentiam, quippe qui plurima e proximo, alia proprii juris alia fidissime sibi parentia, habebat castella, crudelemque et indomitum pedestris multitudinis, Walensium videlicet et Bristoensium aliarumque, quæ e vicino aderant, civitatum, quasi cum rege commissurus, aggregavit exercitum. Comes etiam Herefordiæ Rogerius, sed et alii robustissimæ virtutis, in auxilium suum unanimiter conspirantes, contractis in unum viribus, citissime affuerunt, regiumque, duobus tantum interpositis milliariis, ambientes exercitum, a longe expectarunt, usque dum alii, qui adesse maturabant, in suffragium suum pariter convenissent.

The earl of Gloucester prepares to relieve them, and engage Stephen.

Is joined by Roger earl of Hereford.

They wait for reinforcements.

The barons advise Stephen to abandon the siege, and retreat.

Barones itaque, qui cum rege convenerant, tam copiosum adversariorum examen in suum audientes periculum pariter confluxisse, effrenemque Walensium barbariem sed et incompositum Bristoensium vulgus exhorrescentes, quos comes Glaorniæ, miræ multitudinis conserto agmine, ad se conturbandos ductabat, sanum regis auribus instillarunt consilium, ut, obsidione ad tempus soluta, alio, quo necessitas vocaret, admoveret suos; vel quia inconsultum erat et discrimini proximum, inter tot pedestris multitudinis lanistas longe imparem militiæ suæ cuneum obviam exponere; maxime cum sui et a propriis sedibus procul elongati, et ab itineris labore essent defatigati, illi, e converso, de

A.D. 1144.

suis e vicino prodientes urbibus et castellis, tanto constantiores ad dimicandum concurrerent, quanto, nulla itineris vexatione detriti, e patria sua tunc demum prorupissent: iccirco sanum esse ab obsidione ad præsens desistere, ne a feroci hostium circumventus concursu, suorum, sinistra impediente fortuna, pateretur detrimentum. His rex animadversis, sano suorum adquievit consilio, omnique expeditione sub festinatione ab illis locis dimota, ad Winchelcomam, ubi Rogerius, novus ille Herefordensis comes, castellum adversus sibi consentientes erexerat, improvise devenit, reperiensque castellum vallo eminentissimo in præceps devexum, insuperabili munitione undique circumcinctum, sed paucis ad resistendum impositis (diffugerant enim subitum illius et insperatum audientes adventum) validiores quosque armis se instruere, ad castellum expugnandum se vivacissime aptare præcepit, istis sagittis spissim emittendis insistere, illis, reptando vallum conscendere, omnibus autem impigre in circuitu discursantibus, quæcumque ad manus occurrerent intus jaculari. Dum igitur rex cum suis tam vive tam valide in capiendo castello desudaret, effrenem tantorum impetum qui se interius recluserant minime sufferentes, datis tandem dextris castellum reddiderunt.

Stephen marches against Winchcombe (near Cheltenham).

Orders the assault.

The castle surrenders.

A.D. 1145.

Exhilaratis denique suis, qui, plurimis in Glaornensi provincia castellis erectis, latissime patriam invaserant, ad Hugonem Bigot, inquietissimum regni adversarium, tetendit:[1] qui ubi primum percepit regem in Glaornensem provinciam[2] ad obsidionem, ut fama erat, offirmandam digressum, æstimans eum diutius ibi immorandum, cum omni sese ad prædandum impetu circa regis castella diffudit. Sed rex, impræmeditate superveniens,

Stephen prepares to attack Hugh Bigod.

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[1] The dividing point of the years 1144 and 1145 is very doubtful. The only clue is Huntingdon's statement, p. 278: "*Decimo rex* "*Stephanus anno prius in agendis* "*circa discursus Hugonis Bigot* "*occupatus est.*"

[2] *Glaornensi provincia*, D.

A.D. 1145.

Surprises and routs his predatory force.

totum illius conamen virtuose subegit, militibusque suis aliis captis aliis quaquaversum dispersis, etiam terram ejus validissima vastatione consumpsit; tribusque illa in provincia erectis castellis, ubi duntaxat frequentiores Hugo variabat decursus, plurimo ibi tempore repausavit.

Turgis of Avranches revolts.

His obligations and ingratitude to Stephen.

The origin of the quarrel.

Circa id tempus Turgisius quidam, genere Normannus, de Aurentia,[1] ut aiebant, civitate oriundus, adversus regem rebellari disposuit. Quod quidem omni audienti absurdum videbatur et prorsus incredibile; tum quia ille non solum regis secreti ejusque consiliorum omnium palatinorum habebatur primus, tum quia ex plebeio genere et paupere domo, sibi copulatum, divitiarum et dignitatum fecerat affluentissimum; mirumque cunctis * videbatur, tot sibi a rege gratiæ et amicitiæ ipsius collatis beneficiis, in ejus quoquomodo discordiam posse relabi. Fuit autem hujus discordiæ causa et exordium castellum de Waldena[2] omnisque e vicinio circumjacens provincia, quam rex ei ad conservandum magis quam ad possidendum commiserat: cumque rex in castellum,[3] utpote in sui juris suique, ut putabat, laboris possessione, solitos vellet frequentare ingressus, verens ille ne quod possidebat alteri committeret, omnino inhibuit; seque provide et suos regis conspectu curialique intermixtione callide semovit: incertus profecto futuri, quoquo rerum dispositor Deus cui vult et quoquomodo vult fortunam permutans, non eum castellum diutius habiturum prævidit. Accidit namque ut venationi[1] studium impensurus, ex ipso quadam vice prodiret castello; cumque canibus, aliis sagaci nare nictientibus,[2] aliis præpete cursu bestiolam insectantibus, et ipse Turgisius lituo concrepante lætus insequeretur, ecce rex, cum validissimo militum globo, auspice fortuna, immo, ut verius dicam, Deo sibi ad votum conspirante, subito et improvise advenit. Cumque in aurem[3] fuisset instillatum, hostem suum e castello progressum in manibus adesse, vive undique in eum præcepit irruere, captumque incunctanter vinculisque innexum, ante ipsum castelli introitum in altum suspendere, ni, reddito castello, vitæ suæ consuleret. Ille enim in angusto positus, hinc quia grave esset et onerosum, totius spei suæ refugium, castellum dimittere, inde quia certissimum erat manus regis, nisi in redditione castelli, nullatenus posse diffugere, vitæ suæ tandem consulens, regis petitioni, ut voluit, occurrit.

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[1] A charter of Stephen at Norwich (Archæol. Journ. xx., p. 291) is witnessed by *Turgisius de Abrincis*. Another charter in Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., p. 850, is witnessed by *Turgis. de Avarencis.* Thomas of Elmham, p. 383, dates in 1146 a charter at Canterbury, to which *Turg. de Abrincis* subscribes as witness. Was he restored to favour?

[2] The *Annal. de Wav.*, p. 227, say that Stephen took Walden in the Lent of 1139. Subsequently he gave the castle into the custody of Geoffrey de Mandeville, for it is one of those he was forced to extort from the traitor in 1143.

[3] *castello*, D.

A.D. 1145.

Stephen surprises Turgis while hunting.

He surrenders the castle.

Dum ista tali modo his in partibus gererentur, et rex in aliis sedandis discordiis ad alia loca promoveretur, milites Rodberti Glaornensis comitis, Willelmus scilicet de Doura et sui, cujus crudelitatis modum paucis perstrinximus, persecutione incessabili in regales efferuntur, et nunc quidem adversus eos, quos rex in civitate Oxenefordiæ ad patriæ tuitionem reliquerat, tumultu et rapina, igne et gladio, infestissime desævierunt; nunc contra illos, qui vice regis Malmesbiriæ præsidium observabant, sævissimos quam sæpe impetus egerunt, numquam sine adjacentis provinciæ maximo detrimento, numquam sine utriusvis partis inrestaurabili damno; nec Willelmus ille ab assidua regalium impugnatione umquam cessavit quousque captum tandem insidiis Walterum,[4] quem rex militiæ Malmesbiriensi primipilum præfecerat, virum constantem et circa

William of Dover harasses Oxford,

and the garrison of Malmesbury.

Takes Walter de Pinkney, castellan of Malmesbury, and delivers him

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[1] *venerationi*, D.

[2] Perhaps for *nictentibus* (or nictantibus), in the sense of "striving."

[3] *aure*, D.

[4] See p. 135, and see Gilbert Foliot, *Ep.* xiv., ed. Giles, as to Walter *Pincheum*—no doubt *Pinchenni.*

A.D. 1145. martios sudores probatissimum, comitissæ Andegavensi et suo filio commisit, malorumque et afflictionum, quæ in populum[1] immiseranter exercuerat, pœnitens, sacra Hierusalem pro peccatis expiandis loca petiit, ibique, contra obstinaces fidei Christianæ adversarios viriliter multa et gloriose agens, feliciter tandem interfectus occubuit.

to the empress.

William of Dover joins the crusade and dies in the East.

Comitissa itaque Andegavensis, nacto viro quem omnibus pertinacius adversariis oderat, nunc blanditiis intermixtis [eum] demulcere, nunc supplicia et necem, ni Malmesbiriæ sibi castellum committeret, horrende minitari; sed ille, constantissime verbis renitens, nec blanda mulieris persuasione aliquatenus frangi, nec minis sæpius circumventus ad castellum reddendum poterat inflecti. Sed nec liceret, si, quantum ad se, reddere disposuisset; quia et militiæ regalis consodales, qui se, intercepto illo, in castellum retruserant, minime assentirent, et rex, audita Walteri captione, quam festine affuit, impositisque militibus escarumque copioso suffragio, ad alia, prout necessitas urgebat, inde discessit.[2] Comitissa autem, spe sua frustrata, solo crudelitatis studio in virum exarsit, ferroque arctissime constrictum carcerali squalori cruciandum exposuit; Willelmo quoque, cujus mentionem paulo ante exegimus, a castello Cricheladæ discesso, Philippum, filium Glaornensis comitis, virum discordiæ, in sævitia primum, in non audendis temerarium, in omni denique malitia omnino consummatum, cum fortissima militum manu imposuit. Et Philippus quidem in regales, ubicumque aderant, ferventissime desæviens, nunc eorum terras prædando vacuare, igne consumere, nunc autem eorum municipia; militari congressione

The empress endeavours to obtain possession of Malmesbury.

Stephen reinforces the garrison at Malmesbury.

Cruel treatment of Walter.

Philip, the son of the earl of Gloucester, appointed to command at Cricklade, in the place of William of Dover.

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[1] *populo*, D.

[2] Probably it was on this occasion that the fortification, which caused Gilbert Foliot's letter, No. xli., was increased. W. of Malmesb., p. 726, refers to its commencement. Foliot wrote as abbot, and therefore before Sept. 1148, and as he addressed pope Eugenius, the date must be after Feb. 1145.

A.D. 1145.

cum eis, confligere; hic dominii sui tyrannidem cum violentia extendere, illic aliorum jura indiscreta irruptione occupare; in rebus ecclesiasticis diripiendis, in omnibus denique locis, quocumque rapiente se crudelitatis impetu ferebatur, gravis et intolerabilis adesse. Erat ipso in tempore Willelmus de Chamai, civitatis Oxenefordiæ præses regalisque militiæ dux et assignator, qui cum promptissima militantium manu Philippi viribus sæpissime restitit, illisque alterutrum dissentione mutua concertantibus, solum in illis partibus discordiæ et calamitatis reliquerunt aspectum. Denique cum Philippus superiorem manum nonnunquam haberet, vel propter patris sui suffragium, vel propter comitissæ Andegavensis fautores, qui, quotiens oportebat, in auxilium suum promptissime confluebant, ad hoc patrem permonuit, quatinus propius Oxenefordiam accederet, castellisque in opportunioribus locis erectis, egressus eorum, qui regi militabant, attentius arceret. Ille profecto ad obtemperandum, accepto consilio, facilis, omnem virtutis suæ convocavit militiam, veniensque ad viculum, qui lingua Anglorum dicitur Ferenduna,[1] locum delectabilem omnique copia refertissimum, castellum in eo vallo et propugnaculis munitissimum erexit, militibusque, totius videlicet virtutis suæ flore, impositis, solitos regalis militiæ impetus, qui ex Oxenefordia aliisque circumquaque castellis ad suos inquietandos prodierant, virtuose coercuit. Et illi revera vehementissime constricti, utpote qui nec ex castellis prodire, angustiantibus se adversariis, valebant, quod solum supererat, regis opem scriptis et nunciis celerrime implorarunt.

Resistance of William de Chamai.

Philip persuades his father to besiege Oxford.

He builds a fortress at Faringdon (in the summer).

The royal forces at Oxford apply for assistance.

Audiens autem rex et suorum angustiam et hostium adversum se prævalentem potentiam, licet infectis necessariis negociis, cum maximo illuc militum col-

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[1] Faringdon. The approximate date, "*in æstate*," is given by H. Hunt., p. 278.

A.D. 1145.

Stephen marches to the relief of Oxford.

Besieges Faringdon.

legio, rupta dilatione, tetendit; veniensque Oxenefordiam, usque dum copiosiorem repararet exercitum, paucis diebus ibidem repausavit, collectisque tandem in immensam copiam viribus, circa castellum Ferendunæ, obsidionem protelaturus, castra metatus fuit. Deinde operi miro et non infructuoso[1] præmonuit suos insistere, ut se scilicet vallo et propugnaculis caute circumcingerent, ne repentina hostium irruptio ad se perturbandos quoquomodo irrueret,[2] sed, quasi intra asylum suum recepti, et sibi prudentius providerent et hostibus, cum expediret, tutius audaciusque occurrerent. Nec mora, erectis circa castellum miri artificii machinis, sagittariis quoque in circuitu differtissime ordinatis, qui interius recludebantur gravissime vexabat: quia hinc eos lapides, vel si quid aliud machinæ excutiebant, desuper irruentes ubique contundebant, inde horridissima sagittarum grando, in eorum circumvolans prospectu, dirissime inquietabat; aliquando tela eminus vibrata, molesve quælibet lacertis excutientibus interius emissa eos molestabat, aliquando valida pubes,[3] clivosi valli celsitudinem animose conscendens, pugnam cum eis, paxillis tantum utrosque dirimentibus, acerrime committebat. In hunc denique modum quotidianis regales excursibus eos, qui inclusi erant, gravare; illique e contra viriliter et invicte sese defensare, donec, qui primi habebantur, ceteris insciis, ad regem occulte miserunt, deque reddendo castello, pactione[4] inter se confecta, ei satisfecerunt. Hoc itaque in regis dispositionem[5] contradito castello, plurimum gloriæ, cumulum fortunæ regis, Deus aspirato adjecit, quia non solum ex militum captione, qui se illi sub redimendi conditione commiserant, vel ex armorum et spoliorum copiis, quas intus affluentissime reppererat, suos largissime commilitones ditavit, sed etiam ex ipsa,

Stephen's party fortify their position.

Faringdon capitulates.

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[1] *infructuose*, D.

[2] *irruerent*, D.

[3] *pubens*, D.

[4] *factione*, D.

[5] *dispositione*, D.

A.D. 1146?

quam potentissime adeptus fuit, victoria, non minimum adversariis suis terrorem incussit.[1] Hostes namque illius, tam famosum percipientes contigisse illi triumphum, magis ac magis deprimebantur; quia alii tardius et remissius adversus eum arma sumebant, alii, sibi metuentes, pacis cum eo et concordiæ fœdus quamcitissime inibant. Comes siquidem Cestræ, qui tertiam fere regni partem armis prævalentibus occuparat, supplex et mansuetus regem adivit,[2] crudelitatisque et perfidiæ, quam in eum egerat, cum et manus in Lincolnensi captione in regem et dominum extendit, et regales possessiones sibi usurpando latissime invasit, tandem pœnitens, veteris amicitiæ, renovato inter eos fœdere, in gratiam rediit.[3] In multis autem, solito vivacius solito et fidelius, regis vires adjuvit, quia et Bedefordensem civitatem, quæ regiam semper potestatem infirmarat, cum rege adveniens, viriliter cepit et obtentam regi commisit; et ad perturbandum eos, qui se in Wale[n]gefordense castellum[4] receperant, qui et ubique in regno dissensionis et belli semina respergebant, non solum promptus et alacer insistebat, verumetiam trecentos secum virilis pectoris equites comitatus,[5] regis lateri continuus comes adhæsit, quousque, erecto in prospectu Walengefordiæ miri sudoris et artificii castello, solitos eorum per regiones discursus aliquan-

Consternation among the followers of Maud.

The earl of Chester comes over to the king's party.

Joins the king, and takes Bedford.

Attacks Wallingford castle.

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[1] The chronicles generally at this date have decreased to a mere thread of history, and give no clue whatever to the demarcation between the years 1145 and 1146. We are left to pure conjecture. It would seem that a lull in hostilities was caused by the serious losses the party of the empress had incurred, and we may suppose that the operations round Oxford were the last in the year 1145. The attack on Wallingford certainly belongs to 1146.

[2] They met at Stamford, *Peterborough Chron.*, p. 384.

[3] William of Malmesbury intimates that so early as 1141 the earl of Chester was but lukewarm in his attachment to the empress, p. 751: "*Comes Cestriæ tarde et inutiliter* "*advenit.*"

[4] *Walegefordensi castello*, D.

[5] *adducens*?, with or in place of *comitatus*, according to the meaning assigned to the latter.

A.D. 1146.

The earl, in spite of appearances, is the object of suspicion.

tisper sedavit.[1] Et quanquam comes, redintegrato pacis fœdere, commodus ei fidusque suffragator esse videretur, suspectus ei cunctisque regni sui primis habebatur; tum quia regalium fiscorum redditus et castella, quæ violenter possederat, reddere negligebat, tum quia mobilem levis et inconstantis animi naturam, quam proprie sibi insitam comes habebat, obsidibus vel fidejussoribus datis nequaquam firmarat. Unde nec rex, sed nec consilii sui primi super fide viri aliquatenus confidebant, sed inter tot tantosque regni tumultus extrema rerum prudenter observabant, quoadusque idem, aut redditis[2] ex toto quæ regalis extiterant juris, firmius se illi et fiducialius inclinaret; aut si hoc agere prorsus abnueret, ad eum rex capiendum, ubi opportunitas expeditius occurreret, manus injiceret. Quod et ita contigit, sicut in consequentibus ex ordine plenius disseretur.

Philip, the son of Robert of Gloucester, joins Stephen.

Philippus quoque, filius Roberti comitis Glaorniæ, cujus mentionem paucis præstrinximus, videns eo in tempore regem superiorem, et ipse pacis cum eo et concordiæ confœderationem inivit, terrisque et castellis copiose ditatus, sed et muneribus a rege amplissime donatus, hominium ei, datis obsidibus, exhibuit, minasque et dissensiones in regis adversarios ubique respirans, igne et gladio, violentia et deprædatione quaquaversum desæviit; nec solum baronum regi adversantium, sed et patris sui terras et possessiones in nudum campum, in horrendam passim redigens solitudinem, crudelis ubique locorum et intolerabilis habebatur. Habuit vero idem robur militiæ invictissimum, castella quoque plurima, alia ex regis sibi permissione mandata, alia probitatis suæ industria ex adversariis conquisita. Cepit namque Robertum,

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[1] H. Hunt., p. 279, places this event in 1146. See Stephen's charter in the *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon,* ii. 180, given "*apud Wareng' in* "*obsidione.*"

[2] *redditus,* D.

A.D. 1146.

cognomento Musard, virum simpliciter, immo, ut verum fatear, imprudenter de castello suo egressum: cumque Philippus in insidiis delitesceret, progressum eum fortuito invenit, suspendiumque, collo loro innexo, minitans, castellum illius violenter obtinuit. Cepit nihilominus et Reinaldum Cornubiæ comitem, maximumque militiæ suæ apparatum, regiis induciis fretum, et ad pacem cum rege reparandam a[1] comitissa promotum. Sed quia, rege nescio, captio talis provenit, immo quia pacis et securitatis ex utraque parte datis induciis, ad illicitam Philippus proruit captionem, reddito tandem viro, offensum regem lenivit.[2] Cumque rex cum suis assentaneis, sed et comitissa cum sibi consentientibus, ad pacem confirmandam pariter convenissent, arrogantiæ tumore utrimque prævalente, istisque et illis discordiam ambientibus, nihil profecerunt. Quia comitissæ fautores regni sibi primatum jure usurpantes, a regni nomine et a regis honore regem privare contendebant; ille autem, non solum possessa jure possidere vendicabat, sed et de qualicumque modo adquisitis, nil eis omnino relaxare velle, fixe asserebat; sicque utrorumque partibus diverse sentientibus, ad solitum dissensionis punctum ex integro redierunt.

He takes Robert Musard prisoner.

Captures Reginald earl of Cornwall, Maud's envoy, while under a safe conduct.

Ineffectual meeting of Stephen and Maud.

Eo in tempore desæviebant in Glaornensi provincia Henricus quidam de Caldoet et Radulfus frater ejus, viri bellicosi et circa martios sudores accinctissimi, ex Anglia[3] quidem militandi studio in Angliam progressi; dolo et perfidia quam maxime imbuti; ad rapinam ubique et discordiam promovendam promptissimi, ad scelus et sacrilegium inferendum avidissimi. Isti namque, castellis nunc clandestinis furtis nunc armis prævalentibus virtuose conquisitis, vicinos omnes et

Revolt of Henry de Caldoet and his brother.

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[1] *reparandum cum*, D.

[2] *linivit*, D.

[3] The name *de Caldoet* suggests *Flandria* in place of the obviously erroneous *Anglia*.

A.D. 1146.

maxime ecclesiarum possessiones vexabant multis modis. Quia non solum in diversis operum angariis, in multimodis etiam aliis exactionibus, jugum dirissimæ servitutis injungebant, sed et furtis et latrociniis, rapina et cæde, intolerabiles cunctis se exhibebant. Quapropter ecclesiarum possessiones, illis et illis in locis, quam frequenter distrahentes, ab ecclesiæ limine remoti, separationis sententiam sæpissime pertulerunt, quousque tandem, divinæ ultionis verbere multati, condignam sceleribus suis pœnam pariter susceperunt. Quia alius, suspendio sublatus, ante castellum suum horridissime interiit, alius reddito quod possederat castello, inopia et injuriis plenus, ab omni tandem Anglia dedecore fugatus, abscessit. Et quidem hic[1] verissime, hic[1] illa divini eloquii completa [est] sententia, ubi in ulciscendis impiorum sceleribus patiens redditor describitur esse Deus; quia postquam inflexibilem eorum superbæ cervicis pertinaciam, ut in melius converterentur, diutissime pertulit, postquam atrocissimam inexpletæ tyrannidis violentiam, quam ubique locorum et in ecclesiasticas maxime ingerebant possessiones,[2] patientissime sustinuit, ad totius tandem ignominiæ et dedecoris punctum utrosque redigens, justissimo, ut præmissum est, verbere utrosque multavit; quique videbantur imperio et gloria, dominatione et potentia, non solum barones convicaneos excedere, sed et in ipso se regno latissime extendere, incertum subito mutabilis fortunæ lapsum experti, ad nihilum cum omnibus suis fuerunt redacti. Per omnia benedictus Deus, qui tradidit impios. Castella vero ipsorum et amplissimæ, quas in suum redegerant dominium, possessiones multis in brevi cesserunt; aliis proditionis factione ingressum machinantibus, aliis pecuniæ impensione dominium acquirentibus, omnibus vero ad unum calamitatis et miseriæ propositum

One is hanged, the other banished.

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[1] *hi*, in each place, D.

[2] *ecclesiasticis . . . possessionibus*, D.

tendentibus, ut effrenem tyrannidis suæ libidinem in plebem protenderent, ut rupta pace et tranquillitatis fœdere dissoluto, dissensionis motus concitarent.

A.D. 1146.

Walter, the brother of the earl of Hereford, makes Roger of Berkeley prisoner.

Circa idem quoque tempus Walterius quidam, frater comitis Herefordiæ, assensu, ut aiebant, ipsius comitis, cepit Rogerium de Berchelai, insidiis prætensis circumventum; virum indemnem, nec solum amicitia et alternæ pacis fœdere sibi astrictum, sed et germana contribulis sanguinis cognatione propinquum; vestibusque tandem nudatum et ludibriis expositum, sed et vinculis arctissime mancipatum, ante suum quod in vicino habuerat castellum, tribus vicibus, loro collo innexo, suspenderunt, et tertio, laxatis vinculis, ad ima dimiserunt; talibusque indecentibus modis interitum viro minitantes, immo eum, nisi castellum suum comiti committeret, ad interneciem dirissime compellentes, inexauditi postremo discessere, miserumque seminecis Rogerii cadaver, quia tenuis adhuc vitalis animæ spiritus in vexato corpore palpitabat, secum ferentes, ad carceris perferenda supplicia diutius reservarunt.

They try by threats and torture to prevail on him to give up his castle.

Philip proposes to avenge Roger.

Philippus[1] autem, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, injurias Rogerio irrogatas ægre ferens, hinc quia cum sub defensionis suæ jure tutandum susceperat, inde quia neptem suam uxorandi copula jugatam habebat, armis et deprædatione intolerabiliter desæviit,[2] ferusque et indignatione plenus totam depopulari provinciam, subque sui dominii jure redigere proposuit. Cumque sibi et suis, lætis nonnunquam auspiciis, fortuna aspirasset, inque martios sudores secundos frequenter eventus habuisset, divino subito correptus verbere, in ægritudinis insperatæ incidit languorem, fractusque diutissime corpore et viribus exhaustus, crudelem, quem conceperat, spiritum penitus abjuravit, seque cum honestis, qui sibi deservierant, viris voto

After some success, he is taken ill,

and goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

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[1] The son of Robert of Gloucester.

[2] *desævit*, D.

A.D. 1146. astringens, Hierusalem invisere, sanctorumque loca adire sub spontanea peregrinatione proposuit.

The beginning of the second crusade.

Eo in tempore barbara paganorum multitudo, nostræ religioni adversa, adversus Christi nomen in tantum invaluit, ut non solum Christianorum terras civitatesque opimatissimas,[1] armis prævalentibus, sibi inclinarent, verum et circa Hierusalem, quæ civitas est civitatum, solaque militiæ Christianæ gloria et decus, facto grege, discurrerent, istos cædibus involverent, illos ad captivandum, proh pudor! abducerent: quodque nefas est dicere, templa se abolere, sancta conculcare, nomen Christi de medio auferre astruebant. Hujus itaque tam intolerabilis exactionis opprobria ad pias matris ecclesiæ aures fama intimante, ubique terrarum delata, commota sunt regna, concussa mundi imperia, ad et communis injuriæ ulciscendam infamiam totus sese orbis viriliter accinxit. Et licet valida totius Angliæ pubes, omnesque masculi pectoris et constantis animi virtute insignes, ad hæc vindicanda paratissime convolarent, ita ut tot et tantis undique promoventibus vacuam et exhaustam Angliam putares, non tamen discordia et rapina, gladius et adversarius in Anglia cessavit; quia aliis cedentibus alii succedebant, tanto in agendis malis ferventiores, quanto recentius ad ea accedebant.[2]

State of England;

Arrepta itaque crudelitatis totiusque [malitiæ][3] opportunitate, alius alium ad scelus et flagitium æmulari; quanto urgentius poterant neces sibi alterutrim[que] et insidias moliri; utque fit, vi justitia calcatur, leges dissolvuntur, magistratus sibi et dominium, quanto diffusius poterant, passim propugnare; et nunc quidem in pauperes et in rerum ecclesiasticarum posses-

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[1] Duchesne has *opinatissimas.* Dr. Sewell suggests *opulentissimas,* but the author of the *Gesta* prefers unusual words.

[2] St. Bernard began to preach the second crusade at Vezelay at Easter 1146. The actual start was not made till 1147.

[3] There is an indication of a blank space in Duchesne's edition.

A.D. 1146.

Treachery of the earl of Chester.

His plans.

He complains of the Welsh.

Petitions the king to march against them in person.

Promises to advance money.

siones[1] avide insurgere, quæ erat et assueta et generalis omnium via, nunc vel aliorum castella furto surripere, nunc eos, quibus fidei fœdere connectebantur, dolo decipere. Comes namque Cestræ, cum plurima[2] ex regio jure invasisset, ideoque rex ei suspectus fuisset, ad callidam consuetæ proditionis technam se totum convertit; versute annitens quomodo facilius, sine infamiæ opprobrio, regem posset in hostiles manus contradere. Cum igitur, paucis se comitantibus, curiam advenisset, quatinus totius per hoc suspicionis nota de medio tolleretur, conquestus est se ab hostibus, et maxime a barbara Walensium multitudine, graviter circumventum, terras suas lacrymabili deprædatione spoliatas; urbes alias, flammis immissis, in nudum campum redactas, alias gravissima obsidione circumcinctas; se et suos in proximo a comitatus sui finibus exterminandos, ni regis impigre præsentia illa, qua ceteros relevabat, auxilii sui ope sibi et suis celerius subveniret.[3] Asserebat et adversarios, audito tantum regis nomine, terrendos; plus præsentiæ illius terrore posse deprimere, quam si multa secum pugnatorum millia sine ejus præsentia tentaret inducere: se quoque plurimi æris copiam regiis militibus largissime impensurum; sumptus et quæcumque sibi necessaria judicabat spondebat collaturum, nec diu regem secum commorandum, sed patriæ suæ perversoribus, quasi in transitu, per regis præsentiam superatis, cum glorioso conquisitæ victoriæ titulo, citissime remeandum.

Stephen promises to go; but is warned of treachery.

Talibus rex instigatus jam se cum comite progressurum aiebat, jam se in expeditionem promoturum lætus et alacer promittebat, cum ecce primi omnes, qui ei assistebant, animadvertentes quod præfata comes

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[1] *possessores?*

[2] *plurimum*, D.

[3] What happened directly the earl was imprisoned is noteworthy: "interim Wallenses provinciam "Cestriæ vastaverunt, scilicet apud "wicum Malbanc." Dugd. Monast., ed. 1655, i. 890, 20.

A.D. 1146.

Advice and arguments of the barons.

in dolo loqueretur, a proposito regem subito revocarunt.[1] Dicebant siquidem nequaquam consultum esse in remotas Waloniæ partes, quemadmodum comes expetebat, regem procedere; maxime cum ad plurima sedanda dissensionis semina, quæ ubique locorum per Angliam pullularunt, revocaretur; nec tutum esse per abrupta montium, per condensa silvarum, in barbaræ gentis insidias circumquaque dispositas, exercitum ducere, ubi nec aquarum liquor ad sitim[2] pro voto relevandam se offerebat, nec escarum suffragia, quæ regio sufficerent apparatui, in promptu occurrebant: certum quidem plurima imminere in itinere pericula, plurima patere quaquaversum discrimina; cum id quoque esset in dubio, utrum tandem, labore exhausto, de victoria potienda certi redderentur; temerarium quoque esse, nimisque præsumptuosum, in ejus se comitatum tam inconsulte velle ingerere, qui præmaximam regni partem adversus se præripuisset; et licet se regi, ut videbatur, inclinasset, non tamen se in aliquo securiorem, sed nec fidei certitudine, nec obsidum commissione reddidisset certiorem; quod si ad hostes conterendos[3] regem, ut postulabat, vellet promovere, redderet prius quæ de suis injuste usurpaverat, fide quoque exhibita, sed et obsidibus oblatis tutiorem faceret: quod si in instanti facere renuisset, non solum eum affirmabant non, ut postulabat, adjuvare debere, sed et, ut in sævissimum hostem, vive in eum et constanter insurgere, captumque sine mora, donec regi satisfaceret, carceri mancipare.

Interview of the barons with the earl of Chester.

Cum igitur sano hujusmodi consilio rex tandem licet invite acquievisset, illi, facto continuo agmine, comitem talia nequaquam suspicantem adeunt, regem spondent, ad quæcumque sinistra sors vocasset, per-

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[1] Cf. p. 118.

[2] These words are suggestive of summer or early autumn.

[3] *conserendos*, D.

A.D. 1146.

The earl hesitates to accept their offers.

They accuse him of treason, and take him prisoner.

promptum in suum ac devotum auxilium, si de singulis, quæ præmisimus, suum cum rege haberet assensum. Verum comite protinus respondente, non ad hoc curiam venisse, sed nec de his præmonitum, vel cum suis consilium accepisse, verbis tumidis et litigiosis utrimque insurgentibus, dum illi comitem doli et proditionis factionem in regem texere proclamarent, ille autem confusus et rubore plenus, utpote conscius, primum abnegaret, deinde ad alia confugeret, subito in eum manus injecerunt, regiisque assignantes custodiis, ferro vinctum carceri retruserunt.[1]

The friends of the earl take arms against Stephen.

Others offer terms to the king.

The earl is released.

Istis itaque tali modo completis, cum proceres, qui comiti parebant, quosque in singulis sparsim reliquerat castellis, captum dominum, fama intimante, percepissent, factis ubique et coadunatis gladiatorum turmis, ad arma convolarunt; regem turbare, omnibus regi assentientibus dissensionem inferre; se pro comite liberando usque ad mortis angustiam velle decertare firme promiserunt. Aliis tamen, qui sanioris erant et profundioris consilii, callide providentibus grave esse et periculo proximum, sine suo principe impugnare, melius et consultius, quæ comitis erant, in manus regis committere, sicque illo tandem recuperato, quocumque fortuna postmodum vocasset libere et expedite sequi. Cum amicis comitis regem petiere; castella, quæ sui sanciebat juris, reddito comite, se sibi velle tradere; obsides, fidejussores, et quæcumque ad securitatem sui firmius subnitendam[2] postulasset offerre, privatim et publice fixe spoponderunt. Rex autem habito super his et suscepto consilio, commodum et utile sibi et regno, adjudicavit, prout deposcebant, petitionem suscipere; quatinus, quæ regalis noscebantur juris receptis, comes,

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[1] He was taken at Northampton, according to H. Hunt., p. 279, in 1146.

[2] See Glossary.

A.D. 1146.

datis obsidibus, insuper et jurisjurandi sacramento, ne regi deinceps obsisteret, in curiæ prospectu peracto, ad sui tantum comitatus honores liber abscederet.

A.D. 1147.

His treachery and breach of promise.

He again takes arms.

His cruelty and sacrilege.

Is excommunicated.

He attacks Lincoln with varied success.

Besieges Coventry.

Liberato itaque tali modo comite,[1] cum pacem sequi cum fidem, quam promiserat, servare deberet, animum secutus, ad arma convolavit, ruptoque promissi sui fœdere et juramenti neglecta virtute, ad discordiam in regem concitandam se et suos constanter accinxit. Ferus admodum et indignatione plenus, militum sibi copiam e diverso asciscere, peditum et violentorum dextras ad totius flagitii exercendam malitiam suscipere, raptu et incendio, violentia et gladio, nunc in adversarios, quandoque etiam in sibi consentientes, quodque majoris erat doloris, quandoque in ecclesiasticæ pacis possessiones, ubique crudele cœpit desævire, et [in] omnem ætatem in omnem sexum Herodianam tyrannidem, Neronianam truculentiam exercere. Et quamvis ob tot et tanta quæ committebat scelera nodo anathematis esset innodatus, nunquam ob hoc mitior, nunquam cuivis professioni indulgentior habebatur. Hic regis castella vel furto intercipere, vel violentiam ingerendo perfringere; illic nova raptim sub oculis erigere, sicque de una in aliam quam frequenter patriam cum effrenato exercitu discursare; omnia in solitudinem et in nudum campum vastando redigere. Ante Lincolnensem civitatem, quam pro sui liberatione regi reddiderat, in qua etiam rex militiæ suæ florem reposuerat, cum armato milite quam sæpe grassari; et nunc quidem tristes fortunæ ludos experiri, nunc felicis eventus arridente successu, læte de regalibus et magnifice triumphare. Ante castellum quoque Coventerii, ubi se regales receperant, et ipse

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[1] Stephen, as appears from Huntingdon, p. 279, and W. of Newburgh, i. 57, was crowned in Lincoln on 25 Dec. 1146. After he had left the city the earl of Chester made an attempt to recover it. This then is probably the dividing point of the years 1146, 1147.

A.D. 1147.

comes castellum firmavit, regaliumque per patriam discursus virtuose coercuit; donec rex, clara militum stipatus multitudine, illuc advenit, escas suis, quibus maxime indigi erant, in castellum reposuit, cum comite, qui sibi in difficilioribus itineris viis insidias tetenderat, multotiens commisit, multorumque in primo congressu strage peracta, istisque captis et illis effugatis, rex ibi ad tempus, quia et aliquantisper vulneratus fuit, adversariis cessit: sed, post pauca, viribus denuo reparatis, cum comite conflixit, captisque plurimis et vulneratis nonnullis, ipsoque comite pudenter effugato et pæne interempto, ipsum tandem comitis castellum redditum sibi subvertit. Sed et circa alia nonnunquam comitis castella victoriose rex et constantissime egit; nunc gravi et intolerabili obsidione qui se interius recluserant affligens, nunc mira depopulatione, vel ignis conflagratione, quæ circa erant destruens et depascens; semper autem comiti sibique consentientibus molestus extitit et perversus.

Stephen relieves Coventry.

Partial engagement. Stephen is wounded.

Routs the earl, and takes his fortifications.

Gislebertum quoque, filium Ricardi,[1] virum præditum nobilitatis prosapia, quia se obsidem et sua pro comite dederat castella, erat namque illius nepos, in ipso rex rebellii exordio cepit, suæque diutissime deputatum custodiæ assidue detinuit; quousque redditis in manus[2] regis, quæcumque possederat, castellis, quod solum erat exilii et propulsionis suæ remedium, ad avunculum se protinus contulit, pacemque regni, quanto potuit nisu, perturbans, vires regis persæpe infregit. Cujus castella cum Gislebertus comes patruus suus a rege postularet, sibique jure hereditario competere astrueret, nec regi consultum foret ut in hac ei petitione hac vice adquiesceret, inexau-

Stephen makes the earl of Chester's nephew, Gilbert Fitz Richard, a prisoner.

He surrenders his castles, and joins his uncle.

Earl Gilbert, another uncle of Gilbert Fitz Richard,

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[1] He was son of Richard FitzGilbert (see p. 12), the brother of Gilbert FitzGilbert, earl of Pembroke, who is mentioned ten lines lower down.

[2] *manu*, D.

A.D. 1147.

demands the castles as his own. Is refused, and leaves the king to join the earl of Chester. Stephen pursues him.

ditus a regis se præsentia et a curiæ conspectu latenter subtraxit; hoc animo proponens, ut a rege ex toto discederet, firmatisque, quæ plurima in illa regni parte habuerat, castellis, cum comite Cestriæ aliisque regis adversariis undique in eum insurgeret: quodque juste, ut sibi videbatur, possidere non poterat, armis prævalentibus tandem obtineret. Sed rex, ut animadvertit Gislebertum de curia se furtive subtraxisse, idque manifestum esset, quod ut sibi èt regno adversaretur abscessisset, credulus persuadentibus, maxime quia prius ei suspectus fuerat, universa statim concitata militia, Gislebertum urgenter fuit insecutus. "Et "injuria," inquit, "cui tot et tantas rerum opulentias "contuli, quem ex paupere milite assumptum ad con"sulatus apicem honorifice provexi, cui prælargas "possessionum affluentias, prout ipse animo concepe"rat, totiens et totiens impendi, nunc arma tam "subito tamque inconsiderate assumere, nunc partes "adversariorum contra me adniti videtur. Ubi fides, "ubi pudor, ubi ille, qui et fidem mihi inconcussam "servare, et dedecoris notam reputare deberet ab "amore meo quovis deflectere? qui nec fidem erga "me singularem sibi et solum dominum servat, nec "infamiæ publicæ ruborem, hæc agendo, aliquatenus "devitat? sed jam fugitantem instantius urgeamus, "omnesque conatus illius imparatos reddentes, quic"quid in nos adversum struxerit, accelerata in eum "persecutione, cassemus."

Stephen appears suddenly before his castle. He escapes in disguise.

Nec mora; cum comes ad suum, quod propinquius iminebat, castellum tunc primum adveniret, ut militum ibi et escarum imposito suffragio, regi suis obsistere præciperet, ecce rex ex adversa castelli parte, dispositis bellico more agminibus, inopinate astitit, ipsumque comitem intercepisset, nisi mentita persona et occultata facie, inter tumultus passim insurgentes cum paucis aufugisset. Rex itaque repente assistens, terrore et violentia castellanis illata, redditum castel-

The castle, with two others, is taken.

A.D. 1147.

lum post pauca suscepit. Duobus quoque Gisleberti castellis festine et quasi in ipso currentis impetu occupatis, ad quartum, quod Penevesel[1] dicebatur, laxata mora, tetendit. Est quidem Penevesel castellum editissimo aggere sublatum, muro venustissimo undique præmunitum, gurgite marino abluente inexpugnabiliter vallatum, loci difficultate pæne inaccessum. Huc igitur cum rex, exercitu comitante, se contulisset, locique munitionem ad expugnandum difficilem, [eosque], qui se intus contulerant, ad resistendum paratos percepisset, fidum protinus et constantem militiæ suæ cuneum, cui præcipue innitebatur, ad eos obsidendos ibi reliquit; vive illis injungens, ut sumptu et opere, ingenio et arte obsidionem, a parte maris cum navibus, a terræ vero prospectu cum militibus intenderent, quousque tandem tædio et lassitudine defatigati resistendi impossibilitatem profiterentur.

Stephen marches against Pevensey castle, and blockades it.

Dum hæc ita agerentur, Henricus, filius comitis Andegaviæ, justus regni Anglorum hæres et appetitor, cum florida militum caterva, ex transmarinis partibus Angliam advenit.[2] Concussum protinus et conturbatum in ejus adventu regnum; quia, ut fama adventus ejus se latius, sicut solet, diffunderet, multa scilicet millia secum adduxisse, plurimorum in brevi futura, infinitæ copiæ thesauros secum attulisse, nunc illam deprædatam provinciam, nunc istam combustione depastam mentiebatur. Læte igitur aures arrigebant, et quasi nova eis lux visa est oriri, qui sibi assentiebantur: cum, e converso, regales, quasi gravi depressi tonitruo, aliquanto tempore humiliarentur. Verum, postquam certum fuit, et in omnium notitia manifeste diventilatum, militum eum globum exiguum, non

Henry lands in England.

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[1] No doubt *Pevenesei* in the MS.

[2] As to the date of this visit, see p. 130, note 3. The expression "*Dum hæc ita agerentur*" shows that we may date what follows as happening in the early months of 1147, if such a conclusion seems probable from other circumstances.

A.D. 1147.

He is repulsed from Cricklade and Bourton.

autem exercitum, adduxisse, eos etiam nondum ad tempus stipe data, sed in futuro promissa conductos, nihil egregium facere, sed otio semper et negligentiæ omnia dare, recepto animo fortiter eis ubique et constanter restiterunt. Quia cum ad civitatem Cricheladam, et ad municipium quod Burtuna dicitur, quæ tunc regii habebantur juris, quasi interius sine obstaculo irrupturi advenissent, hinc cum dedecore effugati, inde metu eos abigente, festine fuere propulsi. Nec multo post regiam sæpius experti virtutem, *qui su*perior[1] se fieret ubique constantior, sicut improvide et indiscrete Angliam *ingressi, ita* inertia et otio dissoluti, penuria et egestate convicti, egregio im*peratore*[2] suo et justo totius regni hærede, cum quo advenerant, derelicto, *turpiter* tandem discesserunt. Juvene quidem, tali ingruente infortunio, mo*rbo cœpit* affici, pudoris et injuriæ cruciatu macerari: hinc quia fidos mi*nime* manipulares, quos ad suum sibi delegerat suffragium, secum ut proposuerat re*tinere qui*vit: inde quia nec auxilium speratum a baronibus sibi inclinatis ob*tinuit, n*ec stipendia in promptu habere potuit, quæ suis impertiret, qui et in castellis *vigilabant* et quotidiano conflictu in adversarios decertabant.

Henry applies to his mother and the

Hujus mali nec immerito *infortuni*is circumventus consuluit matrem:[3] sed ipsa, æris indigens, nequaquam tantam ejus inopiam adjuvare suffecit. Consuluit et avunculum Glaorniæ comitem, sed ipse, suis sacculis avide incumbens, rebus tantum sibi necessariis occurrere maluit, omnibusque, in quibus confidebat, *sociis h*ujus necessitatis articulo deficientibus, ad extremum, ut fama erat, ad regem tanquam ad cognatum, missis occulte legatis, benigne eum et suppliciter imploravit, ut indigentiam, qua premebatur, miseranter respiceret, et ut propinqui sanguinis cognatione connexum, sibique, quantum in se erat, benignum, pie exaudiret. Talibus rex perceptis, ut erat semper compassionis et pietatis abundans, juvenem exaudivit, et quem deberet ab omni subventionis opere destituere, utpote regni sui æmulum sibique ex toto adversum, missis pecuniis ut petierat gratanter adjuvit. Et quidem licet rex a

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[1] The lacunæ are evidently caused by damage to the outer edge of the lower part of the last three leaves in the MS. The words here suggested as appropriate for filling up the blank spaces left by Duchesne and by Dr. Sewell are of course entirely conjectural. They are all printed in italics.

[2] The remnant of the mutilated word given by Duchesne is, however, *in*, not *im*.

[3] The empress left England, Gervase would have us believe, before the Lent of 1147. Her brother the earl of Gloucester certainly died on 31st Oct. 1147. The latter date and the events here narrated show that this was a flying visit, not recorded by any other chronicler. When Henry made his better-known visit in May 1149, his acts were quite different. He went, as a Salisbury charter tells us, to Devizes, and thence north with the earls of Chester and Hereford to

A.D. 1147.

earl of Gloucester for assistance.

Is refused.

In his extremity he applies to Stephen.

Stephen assists his rival, in opposition to the advice of his nobles.

Carlisle, and was knighted, as Huntingdon, the Melrose chronicler, and John of Hexham testify, on 22nd May 1149. On this 1149 occasion he might possibly have applied to his mother, though all chroniclers agree that she was abroad, but not to earl Robert, for he was certainly dead.

Now Robert of Torigni (i. 243) avers that Henry returned to Normandy, and was received at Bec on 29th May 1147, but Gervase (i. 131) says that Henry came in 1142 and stayed four years. If, however, we neglect Gervase's dates—which he confesses are faulty about this point — but read his *account*, we have a narrative which accords well with the *Gesta*. Geoffrey of Anjou, fearing that his son would get involved in the fighting, sent for him. Earl Robert escorted him to Wareham, never again to "see "his face in the flesh." Then the chronicler notes that earl Robert died in November. His statement as to the death of the earl shows, however, very plainly that he is giving us the events of 1147 under a wrong date. If this be conceded, Robert of Torigni's date fits in to the sequence of events; for we may suppose that early in 1147 Henry again crossed over to his uncle Robert in England; that his adventure either had not his father's approval, or that he made use of his escort in a warlike way his father never intended; that hearing of his application to his mother and of his difficulties, his father sent for him back to Normandy; that earl Robert escorted him to Wareham; that he was received at Bec on May 29; and that the earl, dying in October 1147, never saw the boy's face again. This question will be reviewed in the Preface in connexion with a further point—the date at which Eustace was knighted.

A.D. 1147. quibusdam in hoc notaretur, quod non solum imprudenter, immo et pueriliter egisset, qui eum,[1] quem maxime persequi debebat, data pecunia tantopere fulciebat, ego altius eum et consultius fecisse sentio: quia quanto benignius quis et humanius se erga adversarium continet, tanto eum et debiliorem reddit et amplius infirmat; ideoque secundum Psalmistam, Ps. vii. 5. noluit retribuentibus sibi mala inferre, sed ut Apostolus præcipit, sic in bonum malum devincere, quatenus per bonum adversario bene impensum, carbones compunctionis et correctionis in mentem[2] illius ingereret.

The king knights his son Eustace and makes him an earl.

Sub eodem ferme tempore rex Eustachium filium suum, egregiæ indolis adolescentem, militiæ cingulo coram optimatibus honoranter accinxit,[3] eumque terris et possessionibus amplissime ditatum, militiæ quoque floridissimæ apparatu præcipue insignitum, ad consulatus apicem excellenter provexit. Et ipse profecto annis adolescens, moribus gravis, militiæ industria præcluis,[4] innata probitate præcipuus, ornatissimum eminus in ipso militandi limine gloriosæ famæ promeruit titulum; quia mitem se imprimis et affabilem exhibere; dapsilitatis manum cum hilari munificentia ubique porrigere; plurimumque de paterno pectore possidens, istis pro tempore parem, illis quandoque

Character of Eustace.

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[1] Henry was about 14 at this time.

[2] *mente*, D.

[3] Henry and Eustace, according to Henry of Huntingdon, p. 282, and (less definitely), according to John of Hexham (Twysden, 278), were *both* knighted in 1149; but our author clearly asserts here that Eustace was knighted before the death of Robert of Gloucester, which event (see p. 134, note 2) certainly happened on 31 October, 1147. Unquestionably *Henry* was knighted on May 22, 1149, on the occasion of his next visit to England, for the Melrose Chronicler supports Huntingdon and John of Hexham as to this; but, when we find from charters that Eustace was actually made an earl at some date before August, 1148, Huntingdon's error becomes apparent. This will be more fully discussed in the Preface.

[4] See p. 108, note 2.

A.D. 1147.

His achievements.

superiorem ostendere; hic pacis fœdera intentissime firmare, illic duram adversariis et inexpugnabilem frontem offerre. Cum comite namque Cestriæ, sed et cum aliis nonnullis, sic nonnumquam mutui certaminis conflictum habuit, sic et insigni famosæ victoriæ splendore multotiens enituit, ut, quod tener agebat ephebus, necdum enim primam lanuginem attigerat, perfecti in militari congressione viri admirarentur. Dumque filius ejus ad hostes retundendos, ex una regni parte, promptissime desudaret, pater, ex alia, consuetam triumphalis militiæ *fidu*ciam frequentissime reportabat. Castellum siquidem, quod dicebatur de Silva, ubi se totius pacis et tranquillitatis inimici receperant, omnemque circumjacentem provinciam instantissime infestarant, improvise adveniens cum violentia cepit, suisque impositis latissimæ provinciæ dominatum conquisivit. In hoc etiam tempore castellum de Lidelea,[1] famose sibi et triumphaliter redditum, suscepit. Fuit namque idem castellum *olim ex regio* jure, quod quidem in illis partibus, et ad varios raptorum arcendos incursus *et ad* ecclesiæ terras tuendas, quas circumquaque episcopus habuerat, possid*ebat. Hoc castellum quidam* de comitibus Brieni, callidi admodum et ad quæque mala versuti, *latenter intravere, quod cum* cepisse*nt*, terrasque et possessiones episcopi gravi depopulatione nu*dassent, rex,* ut erat semper consulti animi et in rebus agendis strenuissimi, copi*osissima* adunata multitudine, duo ante ipsum castella instantissi*me aggressus est,* militumque et peditum turmis sufficienter impositis, usque ad ipsam i*mpetu*[2] *et ar*mis inediam inclusos coercuit. Quibus cum comes Glaorniæ cum tribus *comi*tibus, et cum totius

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[1] See Dugd. *Monast.* (ed. 1673), ii. 546, 6, for *Lidele* and Boteley. Domesday places these manors in Hants, Mansbridge Hundred.

[2] Duchesne has *ip.* This can, however, be the beginning of no word but *ipse.*

A.D. 1147. militiæ indicibili examine et escarum suffragiis,[1] *appropinquasset* et episcopi proposuisset castella subvertere, rex ab episcopo mandatus repente *adiit*, ipsumque comitem cum omnibus suis in subitum terrorem convertit, et redditum sibi castellum episcopo commisit.

Comes deinde Glaorniæ, ut erat regis adversariorum *strenuissimus* et ad magna quævis struenda paratissimus, iterum atque iterum exercitum *compar*are, jugi hortaminis et admonitionis stimulo complices suos incitavit; illos minis, istos promissis sibi et præmiis conjugare; quatinus omnes in unam concordiam, in unum animum conspirati, exercitum e diverso ad idem velle repararent, et, collectis undecumque agminibus, vive et constanter in regem insurgerent. Ceterum, quia non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum, dum ille perturbationis et dissensionis semina, multiplicius quam fecerat et intentius quam consueverat, in regno jactaret, ad extrema subito deveniens, sine digno, ut aiunt, pœnitentiæ fructu, in Bristoa sua tandem oppetiit.[2] Successit in comitatum suum Willelmus filius suus, senior quidem ætate, sed vir mollis, et thalamorum magis quam militiæ appetitor. Hic tamen in primo comitatus sui exordio, quod præter omnium opinionem vix una vice contigit, egregiæ probitatis successus indeptus fuit. Henricus namque de Traceio,[3] vir bellicosus,

Death of the earl of Gloucester (31 October, 1147). He is succeeded by his son William.

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[1] *suffragia*, D.

[2] The death of Robert of Gloucester is a landmark in the difficult chronology of this part of the chronicle. The *Annales de Margan*, p. 14, say, "1147, *Fundata est* "*abbatia nostra quæ dicitur Mar*"*gan. Et eodem anno comes* "*Gloucestriæ Robertus, qui eam* "*fundavit, apud Bristollum obiit,* "*pridie kal. Novembris.*" The witness of the house which the earl founded scarcely requires support, but it is given by John of Hexham, the *Annal. de Theokesb.*, p. 47, the *Annal. de Wav.*, p. 232, by the *Annal. Plympton.*, and the *Annal. Anglosax. breves* (both in Liebermann's Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen). Gervase, i. 131, says he died of a fever in the beginning of November, but he gives the year as 1146.

[3] See pp. 52 and 97.

A.D. 1147.

et in militari exercitio expertissimus, qui et regis partibus parebat, ante castellum, quod Cari dicitur, et aliud firmabat, quo et comitem Glaorniæ per hoc facilius arceret, [et] diffusioris provinciæ dominium possideret: cum ecce ipse comes, talibus fama intimante perceptis, cum immenso repente supervenit exercitu, inceptumque Henrici municipium fundotenus [complanavit], ipsumque cum suis inglorium cedere coegit.

Henry de Tracy, while building near Castle Cary, is routed by William earl of Gloucester.

Eo tempore Walterius de Pinchenei,[1] cujus superius meminimus, carceralem exutus squalorem, comite Herefordiæ ad hoc maxime suffragante, ad arma denuo convolavit; egregio militantium globo ascito, castellum quod Cristiciria[2] dicitur, furto subintravit, aliisque, quos in eo repererat, interemptis aliis autem in vinculis mancipatis, omnibusque, quæ circumquaque fuerant, avidissime direptis, amplissimæ provinciæ dominium possedit. Verum, cum deberet veteris crudelitatis et malitiæ oblivisci, ne peccatis exigentibus in manus adversariorum iterato incideret, ferus cunctis et intolerabilis existere; ecclesiarum possessiones atrocissime gravare; vicinos quosque angariis et violentiis molestare, ab omnibus æra et donaria sine cessatione exigere; his pœnas et supplicia, illis diversas mortes, solo crudelitatis studio, inferre. Sed tantæ illius malitiæ vindex et retributor Deus justo eadem judicio in auctorem tandem reflexit. Cives namque loci illius, sed et de comprovincialibus nonnulli, *crudeli*tatis illius barbariem ægre ferentes, in unam proditionem conspirantes,[3] *congregatis* militibus ad cujus feudum ipsi pertinebant, et circa ipsum castellum *turmis disp*ositis, Walterium et suos, qui de castello progressi in ecclesiam *intraverunt*, *conven*ere, cumque eum suppliciter implorarent, quatinus in exactionibus *len*ior[4]

Walter de Pinkney emerges from confinement.

Takes Christchurch.

His cruelty.

Death of Walter de Pinkney.

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[1] See p. 113. D. has *Pincbenei*.

[2] Christchurch.

[3] *conspirans*, D.

[4] *vior* is the fragment of the word in Duchesne.

A.D. 1147. fieret, et ille fronte pervicaci indignanter respondisset, se *haud mitius*, immo[1] multo feralius, quam consueverat acturum, unus ex eis *au*dacter prosiliens, acutissimam bipennem in ejus cervicem virtuose *infixit, et* isto[2] interempto, reliquos etiam ejus commilitones instanter prostraverunt, *et iis qui* insidiis delitescebant concurrentibus, eos, qui in castello erant, protinus obser*vaverunt*. Tandem datis dextris et pace confecta castellum receperunt.

The followers of Patrick earl of Salisbury capture Downton.

Circa idem *tempus homines* Patritii comitis castellum, quod Duntuna[3] dicitur, ex jure et possessione *Wintoniens*is ecclesiæ furto surripuerunt, castellum escarum copiis uberrime re*fertum et* apparatu apprime præmunitum, impositisque prædonibus, et aliorum . . . .

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[1] *umo* is the fragment given by Duchesne.

[2] *iste*, D.

[3] Downton, south of Salisbury. The *Annales Winton.*, p. 51, say that in 1138 Henry bishop of Winchester built "*castellum . . de Duntona.*" The changed attitude of Patrick earl of Salisbury is interesting, as an explanation is now forthcoming. We have seen (p. 84, note 2) the earl fighting against John le Marshal, Maud's ally; but we see "*Patric.* "*de Sarum conest.*" as a witness to a charter granted by the empress (Monast. Anglic., v., p. 446); and we also here see the earl dispossessing Henry bishop of Winchester of the castle of Downton. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, l. 372, tells us that John le Marshal married Sibylla, sister of earl Patrick, and that this brought about peace between the enemies — the earl was won over:

> Puis prist damesele Sibire,
> La sorur le cunte Patriz;
> . . . . .
> Puis i out amor et concorde
> Qui lur dura tute lor vie.

John le Marshal, however, seems to have made peace with Stephen later (Monast. Anglic., ed. 1655, vol. i. p. 1031, col. 2. *l.* 24).

HISTORIA RICARDI, PRIORIS ECCLESIÆ HAUGUSTALDENSIS,

DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI.

INCIPIT HISTORIA PIÆ MEMORIÆ

PRIORIS RICARDI HAUGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIÆ,

DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI ET DE BELLO STANDARDII.[1]

A.D. 1135.

Death of king Henry I.

Anno[2] Verbi incarnati MCXXXV., ab adventu vero[3] Normannorum in Angliam lxix., Henricus rex Angliæ, anno ætatis suæ lxviij., de quadam muræna comedens ægrotavit, et mortuus est in quadam foresta Normanniæ, quæ Leuns dicitur, apud sanctum Dionisium, iv^{to} nonas Decembris,[4] feria ij. Regnavit autem gloriose annis triginta v. et mensibus iv. Corpus vero ipsius, sicut præceperat, in Angliam transvectum, apud Radingas sepultum est. Unde statim justitia et pax, quæ cum eo diu regnaverant, in Normannia et Anglia pariter cum illo[5] occubuerunt. Et justitiæ patrocinante[6] quod solum tunc ubique regnabat, violentiæ et rapinæ, cædes et deprædationes, inauditæ crudelitates et innumeræ calamitates, loco pacis ac justitiæ, suam tyrannidem latenter et patenter exercuerunt. Hæc autem omnia mala post mortem ejus tanto exuberan-

Outburst of lawless violence after his decease.

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[1] *Standardii*, thus in the rubric.

[2] The initial A is very large and beautiful.

[3] *vero*, interlined in lighter ink. This and all other alterations and corrections in the MS. are contemporary.

[4] Other chroniclers give 1st December, but as Henry died at nightfall the discrepancy is, as canon Raine remarks, easily understood. The words of our chronicler present a slight, but no doubt purely accidental, similarity to those of Robert of Torigni in the so-called 8th book of the chronicle of William of Jumiéges, Duchesne, p. 309.

[5] *illo*, not *eo*, MS.

[6] Canon Raine remarks that some words seem to have been omitted here.

A.D. 1135. tius et vehementius prævaluerunt, quanto majori potentia et districtiori justitia in vita sua plures depresserat, aggravaverat, spoliaverat, exhæreditaverat, exiliaverat. Unde nacti occasionem, quam ardenter desideraverant, singuli se vindicare festinabant, dum quicquid mali agere poterant eis impune facere licebat.

Murder of William Travers.

Ea tempestate Willelmus cognomento Transversus, qui honorem Fracti Pontis, sic enim quoddam oppidum nominatur, ex dono Henrici regis habuerat, a quodam milite homine suo, Pagano nomine, apud ipsum oppidum letali vulnere percussus, post triduum in habitu monachili mortuus est. Et quem patri suo, Roberto de Lesci, rex Henricus abstulerat, Ilbertus de Lesceio, filius ejus, mox eundem honorem recuperavit. Et per Angliam et per Normanniam similiter pluribus eadem tempestate contigit.

Characteristics of king Henry I.

Rex autem nobilis Henricus in juvenili ætate magna virtutis probitate laudabilis, in adversitatum periculis sæpe vexatus, in militaribus congressionibus optime exercitatus fuit. Erat namque vir consilii et providentiæ, sagacitatis ac prudentiæ, mente constans, animo audax, in sermone verax, in promissis efficax, in minis pertinax, in amicitia perseverans, in odio perdurans, in adversis patiens, in prosperis temperans; facundia disertus, justitia rigidus, in judicio æquus, inimicis pessimus, amicis optimus. Igitur post fratrem suum Willelmum regnum Angliæ adeptus, ducatumque Normanniæ a germano suo Roberto comite mira arte acquisivit, et utriusque negotia magna sapientia disposuit, ac omnes sibi adversantes ineffabili calliditate superavit. Nobiles plerosque propter eorum perfidiam depressit; ignobiles vero multos, quos probos ac sibi fideles invenit, amplis honoribus sullimavit. Bonas quoque leges et consuetudines regis Edwardi, prædecessoris ac cognati sui, restauravit, et, prout ei videbatur, sua sapientia et auctoritate emendatas et corroboratas, in regno suo rigide et constanter, tam a *fo.* 37. *b.*

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divitibus quam a pauperibus, observari fecit. Raptores quoque ac fures et latrones ac maleficos, atque falsæ monetæ factores et studiosos expensores, gravi animadversione puniri fecit.

His religious foundations.

Igitur in diebus ejus[1] tempora pacis floruerunt, ac plura monasteria, in quibus antea non erant, ad religionem monachorum, ac præcipue canonicorum regularium, conversa sunt. Unde et ipse duo cœnobia, unum monachorum apud Radingas, ubi et ipse sepeliri voluit, et alterum canonicorum apud Cirecestram instituit, et regali munificentia ditavit, ac utrisque juxta ordines suos abbates præfecit. Monasterium vero Radingas ipse favore suo provexit, et in lumine basilicam pulcherrimi operis erexit, et cum regali potestate reddituum, conventu, et numerositate monachorum ornavit. Construxit etiam cœnobium Cirecestræ quarto ante obitum suum anno, in quo cum opulentia rerum necessariarum canonicos regulares collocavit. In religiosos et in pauperes laudabili largitate et congrua veneratione enituit. Post quem princeps[2] non surrexit alius, qui sic injustas regni exactiones interdiceret, omnes sibi subjectos in pace et modestia sapientiæ disponeret, personas ecclesiasticas reverenter excoleret,[3] pauperes et inopes sumptuosis elemosinis foveret.

Reading abbey.

A monastery at Cirencester.

His queens.

Duas reginas habuit, primam nomine Mactildam, filiam Malcolmi regis Scotiæ, ex qua unam filiam genuit, quæ primo imperatori Henrico Alemanniæ ac deinde Gaufrido Andegavensium comiti in conjugium data est. Unum quoque filium nomine Willelmum ex eadem habuit, qui cum maxima nobilitate Angliæ et Normanniæ in mari summersus est. Alteram vero reginam post mortem Matildis, nomine Adelizam, filiam Godefridi ducis Luvaniæ, accepit; sed hæc sterilis per-

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[1] *ejus*, not *illis*, MS.

[2] *princeps*, marked to this point.

[3] The hand changes here at the head of a column.

A.D. 1135. mansit. In fornicatione autem et adulterio plures liberos[1] habuit; namque hæc duo vicia, scilicet luxuria et amor pecuniæ, in eo nimis dominabantur. Unde ejus exemplo plurimi corrupti sunt.

Hic autem, sicut prædictum est, paulo antequam moreretur in Normannia existens, de quadam muræna comedit; unde mox ægrotare cœpit et mortuus est. Quo mortuo, continuo emerserunt homines scelesti et peccatores, cuncta jura justitiæ et pacis dissipantes, et ad direptiones et cædes, incendia et alia flagitia, hostiliter proruentes. Ipse enim in principio regni sui sicut prædiximus, leges justas et libertates populo dedit, carta confirmavit, sigillo corroboravit, et in ærario suo apud Wintoniam conservari præcepit, sicut sequens articulus aperte demonstrabit. *fo.* 38.

The charter granted by him at the beginning of his reign.

Charter of king Henry I. (A.D. 1101.)

" Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus[2] " suis, tam Francigenis quam Anglicis, totius Angliæ salutem.[3]

" Sciatis me misericordia Dei, et communi consilio baronum " regni Angliæ, ejusdem regni regem coronatum esse. Et " quia regnum oppressum erat injustis exactionibus,[4] ego, re" spectu Dei et amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, sanctam " Dei ecclesiam imprimis liberam concedo, ita quod nec " eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec, mortuo archiepi" scopo vel episcopo vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio " ecclesiæ vel de hominibus donec successor in eam ingredi" atur. Et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum An" gliæ injuste opprimebatur, inde aufero. Quas malas con" suetudines expono hic [ex] parte.[5]

" Si aliquis baronum meorum vel comitum sive aliorum, " qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus non redimat " terram suam sicut faciebat tempore fratris mei, sed legi" tima et justa[6] relevatione relevabit eam. Similiter homines " baronum meorum legitima et justa relevatione relevabunt " terras suas de dominis suis.

" Et si quis baronum vel aliorum hominum meorum filiam " suam nuptui tradere voluerit, sive sororem sive neptem

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[1] *liber*, in light ink, the termination *os* in dark.

[2] *fidelibus*, interlined in light ink.

[3] A new hand adds *alutem* to the *s*, and takes up the work in much lighter ink.

[4] *actionibus*, MS.

[5] *partes*, MS.; *ex parte*, Statut es

[6] *legitima et justa* interlined.

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“sive cognatam, mecum inde loquetur. Sed neque ego aliquid de suo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei quin eam det, excepto si eam jungere vellet inimico meo. Et si mortuo barone vel alio homine meo filia hæres remanserit, illam dabo consilio baronum meorum cum terra sua. Et si mortuo marito uxor remanserit ejus, et sine liberis fuerit, dotem suam et maritacionem habebit, et eam non dabo marito nisi secundum velle suum: si vero uxor cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem et maritacionem suam habebit, dum corpus suum legitime servaverit, et eam non dabo nisi secundum velle suum; et terræ liberorum custos erit sive uxor sive alius propinquorum, qui justius esse debebit. Et præcipio ut barones mei similiter se contineant erga filios vel filias vel uxores hominum suorum.

“Monetagium commune quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore regis Edwardi, hoc ne amodo sit omnino defendo. Si quis captus fuerit, sive monetarius sive alius, cum falsa moneta, justitia recta inde fiat.

“Omnia placita et omnia debita quæ fratri meo debebantur[1] condono, exceptis rectis firmis meis, et exceptis illis quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro eis rebus quæ juste aliis contingebant. Et si quis pro hæreditate sua aliquid pepigit, illud condono, et omnes relevationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

“Et[2] si quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur, sicut ipse dabit vel dare disponet pecuniam suam, ita datam

[On *fo.* 38. *b.*]

esse concedo. Quod si ipse, præventus vel armis vel infirmitate, pecuniam suam non dederit vel dare disposuerit, uxor sua sive liberi aut parentes, et legitimi homines ejus, eam pro anima ejus dividant, sicut melius eis visum fuerit.

[On *fo.* 38. *a.*]

“Et[3] si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit, non dabit vadium in misericordia pecuniæ suæ, sicut faciebat tempore patris mei vel fratris, sed, secundum forisfacti modum, ita emendabit sicut emendasset retro a tempore patris mei in tempore aliorum antecessorum meorum.

[Begins *fo.* 38. *b.*]

Quod si perfidiæ vel sceleris convictus fuerit, sic emendet.

“Murdra[4] etiam, retro ab illa die qua in regem coronatus fui, omnia condono. Et ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, juste emendentur secundum lagam regis Edwardi.

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[1] *debebant,* MS.

[2] This article is written after the one which follows, but the letters *a, b* direct transposition, and the clause “*Quod si perfidiæ* . . . . . “*emendet,*” which really begins *fo.* 38 *b.*, must, of course, change place also.

[3] This article is on *fo.* 38 *a.*

[4] The spelling here is *murdia.* As the MS. is unique, its orthography has been followed as far as possible.

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"Forestas communi consensu baronum meorum in manu "mea ita retinui, sicut pater meus eas habuit. Militibus, qui "per loricas terras suas deserviunt, terras dominicarum car-"rucarum suarum quietas ab omnibus geldis, et ab omni "opere, proprio dono meo concedo, ut sicut tam magno gra-"vamine alleviati sunt, ita equis et armis se bene[1] instruant, "ut apti sint et parati ad servitium meum et ad defensionem "regni mei.

"Pacem firmam in toto regno meo pono, et teneri amodo[2] "præcipio. Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo cum illis "emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit consilio "baronum suorum.

"Si quis aliquid de meo, vel de rebus alicujus, post obitum "regis Willelmi fratris mei cepit, totum cito[3] reddatur absque "emendatione. Et si quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille super "quem[4] inventum fuerit graviter mihi emendabit.

"Teste Mauricio Lundoniensi episcopo, et Willelmo electo "Wintoniæ episcopo, et Gerardo Herfordensi episcopo, et "Henrico comite, et Simone comite, et Waltero comite Gifardo; "et R. de Muntfort, et Eudone dapifero, et Rogero Bigoto. "Valete."[5]

Succession of Stephen.

Hæc autem de eo succincte dicta ad præsens sufficiant: si quis autem plenius nosse desiderat actus ejus, et quomodo se in regno habuerit, in cronicis de gestis Anglorum invenire poterit. Henrico autem regi mox Stephanus comes Boloniæ, nepos ejus ex sorore sua comitissa de Blais, et frater Theobaldi comitis, in regnum successit.

[A.D. 1136.]

Stephen's election and coronation, 25 December [1135].

Anno[6] igitur Dominicæ incarnationis MCXXXVI. a primoribus regni, cum favore cleri ac populi, Stephanus comes Bononiæ electus, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo in Natale[7] Domini apud Lundonias in regem consecratur. Hujus autem regni primordia et processus tot ac tantis redundavere rerum adversantium tur-

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[1] *bene*, interlined.

[2] *amodo*, interlined.

[3] *cito*, interlined.

[4] *quem*, interlined.

[5] The list of witnesses differs somewhat from the other copies. See the text as printed in bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," pp. 100–102.

[6] The hand changes again here: a fourth scribe takes up the work.

[7] *Natale*, MS. This date accords with the witness of the Peterborough Chronicle.

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bationibus, ut quid de eis scribi debeat, quemve[1] habitura sint singula finem, nondum sciri valeat. Ipse autem rex, licet innumeris et maximis adversitatibus undique coartatus, semper tamen animo constans, vultu hilaris, et quasi de victoria jam securus, hostium suorum conatus et minas, subdolorum versutias ac perfidorum fraudes, et temporalium rerum, licet maximarum, amissiones, quasi non sentiret vel parum perpenderet, deridebat. Quæ ejus confidentia et securitas adversariis suis stuporem et confusionem, suis vero vigorem et audaciam et consolationem conferebat.

His character.

Erat quoque vir tantæ mansuetudinis et benignitatis, ut etiam inimici ejus, ad ipsum conversi, præter spem suam in illo misericordiam invenirent. Maximas igitur familias de militibus stipendiariis collegit, per quos negotia sua in Normannia et Anglia ageret.

Geoffrey of Anjou attacks Normandy.

Nam Galfridus comes Andegavensis qui imperatricem, scilicet filiam H[enrici] regis, quæ sic vocata est postquam imperatori nupsit, in conjugio habebat, cujus filio Anglia ac[2] *fo.* 39. Normannia jurata fuit, mox ut eum in regem electum esse cognovit, plurimas regiones deprædavit ac destruxit, et multa castella in Normannia contra illum cepit ac tenuit.

David of Scotland seizes Carlisle and other towns, about 25 December.

Similiter et David rex Scottiæ, ejusdem dominæ avunculus, in provincia Norþamymbrorum v. oppida, scilicet Lugubaliam, quod Anglice Carlel dicitur, et Carrum,[3] quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur, et Alnawic et Norham et Novum Castellum, mox circa Natale Domini cum magno exercitu præoccupavit ac tenuit. Sed Bahanburch[4] minime habere potuit. Fidelitates quoque et obsides de potentioribus et nobilioribus ejusdem regionis ad conservandam fidem imperatrici nepti suæ accepit.

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Stephen marches to

Proposuit etiam Dunelmum aggredi: sed Stephanus rex ad Caput Jejunii, quod

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[1] *quæve*, MS.

[2] A fifth scribe takes up the work after *ac*.

[3] Carham or Wark on the Tweed.

[4] *Bahanburch*, MS.—the end of the word on an erasure.

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Durham, Feb. 5.

A peaceful arrangement concluded.

illo anno nonis Februarii contigit, cum maximo exercitu illuc veniens, xv. diebus ibi moratus est. Tandem vero in eadem provincia, habita collocutione et pace facta inter duos reges, Henricus filius David regis Scottiæ homagium Stephano regi apud Eboracum fecit. Deditque rex illi cum consulatu patris sui de Huntadun, Carlel, et Donacastram, cum omnibus quæ ad ea pertinent; et, ut quidam aiunt, qui se huic conventioni interfuisse testantur, promisit illi quod si comitatum Norþanymbriæ alicui dare vellet, prius calumpniam Henrici filii regis Scottiæ super eo juste in sua curia judicari faceret. Reddidit quoque David rex Scottiæ Stephano regi Angliæ IV. prædicta castella sua quæ invaserat, nam quintum, scilicet Carlel, datum erat ei, redditis obsidibus et utriusque partis hominibus in eadem pace concordatis.

Henry, son of king David, visits Stephen at Easter, March 22.

Fuit quoque Henricus filius regis Scottiæ ad curiam Stephani regis Angliæ in proxima Pascha, quam apud Lundoniam festive tenuit, cum maximo honore susceptus, atque ad mensam ad dexteram ipsius regis sedit.

Conduct of the archbishop of Canterbury and other nobles towards him.

Unde et Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis se a curia subtraxit, et quidam proceres Angliæ, erga regem indignati, coram ipso Henrico calumpnias intulerunt. De qua re David rex Scottiæ valde indignatus, recepto filio suo, noluit eum, quamvis sæpius mandatum, ad curiam regis remittere.

Troubles with the Welsh.

Eodem autem anno Walani multum de terra S[tephani] regis Angliæ devastaverunt, et duos de baronibus suis, Ricardum filium Rogerii,[1] et Paganum filium Johannis, in regione illorum insidiose occiderunt. Sed mox cum eo concordati sunt.

Rebellion of Baldwin de Redvers.

Eodem quoque anno Baldewinus de Redwers, quia non potuit quendam honorem habere, quem a rege

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[1] This name, canon Raine notes, should be Richard FitzGilbert. See *Gesta Stephani*, p. 12.

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postulaverat, Execestram oppidum suum contra illum firmavit. Rex vero, devastata terra ejus, post diutinam obsidionem oppidum per vim cepit, et illum captum de Anglia et Normannia exlegavit. At ille ad Gaufridum Andegavensem comitem et ad imperatricem ejus uxorem confugit.

Letter of pope Innocent II. confirming Stephen's election.

Eodem quoque anno Innocentius, Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, Stephano regi Angliæ litteras suas transmisit, quibus eum Apostolica auctoritate in regno Angliæ confirmavit. Quarum exemplar hoc est:—

“Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Stephano illustri Anglorum regi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

“Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum, ex incomprehensibili supernæ providentiæ dispensatione quando vult mutat tempora et transfert regna. Sicut enim attestatur Dan. iv. 17. propheta, ‘Dominatur excelsus in regno hominum, et cui ‘voluerit dat illud.’ Quot commoditates, quanta jocunditatis tranquillitas, quantumque justitiæ censura in regno *fo*. 39. *b*. Angliæ et ducatu Normanniæ, regnante filio nostro gloriosæ memoriæ Henrico rege, viguerunt, eo humanis rebus exempto oculata fide perclaruit. Cum enim idem esset religiosorum virorum amator, pacis et justitiæ cultor, viduarum et orphanorum propitius consolator, et eorum, qui impotentia defendere se non poterant, pius defensor, ipso sublato de medio, prout accepimus, turbata est religio in regno Angliæ, et nullum mandatum pacis seu justitiæ in adjutorio regali vigebat, atque atrocitatem tantorum scelerum comitabatur impunitas. Ne autem diutius grassando in populum Dei debachari[1] posset dira feralitas, inclinata est ad preces religiosorum virorum divinæ miseratio pietatis, et tantis flagitiis potenter occurrens, quemadmodum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum earundem regionum, et amatorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, gloriosi Francorum regis et illustris viri comitis Teodbaldi scripta testantur, et industrium virorum nobis indicavit assertio, communi voto et unanimi assensu tam procerum quam etiam populi, te in regem eligere et a præsulibus regni consecrari providit. Nos cognoscentes vota tantorum virorum in personam tuam, præeunte divina gratia, convenisse, pro spe etiam certa,[2] et

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[1] So in MS.

[2] *certo*, MS.

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Igitur Stephanus, his et aliis modis in regno Angliæ confirmatus, episcopos et proceres sui regni regali edicto in unum convenire præcepit; cum quibus hoc generale concilium celebravit.

Charter of king Stephen.

"Ego Stephanus Dei gratia assensu cleri et populi in regem " Angliæ electus, et a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo " et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ legato consecratus, et ab Inno- " centio sanctæ Romanæ sedis pontifice confirmatus, respectu " et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et " debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

"Nichil me in ecclesia vel rebus ecclesiasticis simoniace " acturum vel permissurum promitto. Ecclesiasticarum perso- " narum et omnium clericorum et rerum eorum justitiam, et " potestatem et distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in " manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates " ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines " earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere statuo et " concedo. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenurias, quas " illa die habuerunt qua Willelmus rex Angliæ, avus meus, " fuit vivus et mortuus, sine omni calumpniantium reclama- " tione eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de " habitis vel possessis ante mortem ejusdem regis, quibus " modo careat, ecclesia deinceps resederit,[1] indulgentiæ et dis- " pensationi meæ vel restituendum vel discutiendum reservo. " Quæcunque vero post mortem ipsius regis liberalitate regum, " largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione vel qualibet

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[1] W. of Malmesbury, who gives the body of this charter in the *Hist. Novella*, here writes *repetierit*, probably the right word. There are a few unimportant verbal differences between the document as presented by the two writers, but Richard of Hexham gives the witnesses. His copy agrees more closely with MS. Bibl. Reg. 13 B. xix. and kindred MSS. than with 13 D. ii. In the Statutes of the Realm, as canon Raine notes, this charter is given from a copy in the Treasury of Exeter Cathedral. This version may be conveniently consulted in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 120.

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"transmutatione fidelium, eis collata sunt confirmo. Pacem "et justitiam me in omnibus facturum et pro posse meo "conservaturum eis promitto.

"Forestas, quas Willelmus rex avus meus et Willelmus fo. 40. "secundus avunculus meus instituerunt et habuerunt, mihi "reservo. Ceteras vero omnes, quas Henricus rex super-"addidit, ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo.

"Si quis episcopus vel abbas vel alia ecclesiastica persona "ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit vel distri-"buenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo. Si vero morte "præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus ecclesiæ con-"silio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis pas-"toribus vacuæ fuerint, ipsæ et omnes earum possessiones "in manu et custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum "ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonice sub-"stituatur.

"Omnes exactiones et injustitias et meschenningas, sive "per vicecomites vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, fun-"ditus extirpo.

"Bonas leges et antiquas et justas consuetudines in hundris[1] "et placitis et aliis causis observabo, et observari præcipio "et constituo.[2] Hæc omnia concedo et confirmo salva regia "et justa dignitate mea. Teste Willelmo Cantuariensi archi-"episcopo, et Hugone archiepiscopo Rotomagensi, et Henrico "episcopo Wintoniensi, et Rogero episcopo Sar[esbiriensi], "et Alexandro episcopo Lincolniensi, et Nig[ello] episcopo "Heliensi, et Erbr.[3] episcopo Norwicensi, et Symone episcopo "Wirecestrensi, et Bernardo episcopo sancti Davidis, et "Audoeno episcopo Ebr[oicensi], et Ricardo episcopo Abrin-"censi, et Roberto episcopo Herefordensi, et Johanne epi-"scopo Rovencestrensi, et Adelwlfo episcopo Carlelensi;[4] et "Rogero cancellario; et Henrico nepote regis; et Roberto "comite Gloecestriæ, et Willelmo comite Warennæ, et Ra-"dulfo comite Cestriæ, Rogero comite Warawicensi, Ro. "de Ver, Milone de Glocc., Roberto de Olli, Briano filio "Comitis, constabil.; Willelmo Martel, Hugone Big[ot],[5]

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[1] *hundris*, thus MS., but Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, p. 709, and the Statutes give *murdris*, which is no doubt the right word.

[2] Malmesbury omits all that follows, except the date and place, saying *nomina testium . . apponere fastidio.*

[3] *Erbr̃*, MS. This would be Everard de Montgomery, bishop 1121–1145.

[4] *Carlel̃*, MS.

[5] *Big'*, MS.

A.D. 1136.

“ Hunfrido de Buhun, Simone de Belloc[ampo] [1] dapiferis; Willelmo de Alb[iniaco], Martel de Alb̃.[2] pincernis; Roberto de Fer[reriis], Willelmo Peverel, Simone de Silvanecti,[3] Willelmo de Albamarla,[4] Hugone de Sancto Claro, Ilberto de Leceio.

“ Apud Oxenford, anno scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXXVI., sed regni mei primo.” [5]

His et aliis modis statim in primo anno confirmatus Stephanus in regno Angliæ, etiam hujusmodi leges et consuetudines regno suo dedit et concessit, et constanter promisit quod eas cum suis firmissime servaret.

Stephen crosses to Normandy in August. Death of William archbishop of Canterbury.

Eodem anno propter bellum comitis Andegavensis, mense Augusti,[6] in Normanniam Stephanus rex transfretavit. Et Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, mense Novembris defunctus, in sua civitate sepultus est.

A.D. 1137.

Threatened irruption of the Scots after April 11.

Anno igitur proximo, id est MCXXXVII., pacis fœdere rupto, statim post Pascha David rex Scottiæ, exercitum suum congregans, Northymbriam devastare proposuit. Sed ex præcepto regis S[tephani], tunc in Normannia existentis, maxima pars comitum et baronum Angliæ cum magno exercitu militum ad Novum

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[1] The Statutes read *Belcamp.*

[2] The Statutes read *Eudone Mart'.*

[3] *Saintliz* in the Statutes.

[4] *Albam'a*, MS. The Statutes insert immediately after this the name *Pag' filio Johannis*, and put *Hamone* for *Hugone*. Payne Fitz-John was killed in this same year.

[5] The fact that the names of Robert of Gloucester and Hugh Bigod appear as witnesses enables us to fix the date of this charter with some closeness. The former reached England *post Pascha* (March 22) according to Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 705, the latter rebelled *ad Rogationes* (April 26), according to Hen. of Huntingdon, Rolls ed. p. 259. The latter author is shown both by Malmesbury and R. of Hexham to be wrong in placing the Oxford charter before the march to Durham.

[6] This is an error. Malmesbury, p. 710, says that he crossed early in Lent, 1137. R. of Torigni (i. 206) agrees to this date. *Orderic Vital.* (Prevost's ed. v. p. 63) shows how prior Richard was deceived. At the end of May, 1136, Stephen began to prepare to cross, but he heard a rumour as to the death of Roger of Salisbury. He returned to Salisbury, found the bishop alive, and then deferred his journey till the following Lent.

A.D. 1137.

Castellum, quod est in Northumbria, venit, illi resistere parata, si regnum Angliæ invaderet. Tandem per internuncios datis et acceptis induciis usque ad proximum Adventum Domini, post xl. dies ad propria redierunt. In Adventu autem Domini Stephano regi redeunti de Normannia, postquam data magna pecunia a comite Andegavensi biennii inducias acceperat, legati David regis Scottiæ et Henrici filii ejus mox affuerunt, illi suas inducias reddentes, nisi Henrico comitatum Northymbriæ daret. At rex petitioni illorum minime annuit.

Stephen returns, November 28.

Claims of king David.

A.D. 1138.

Scotch invasion on Jan. 10.

Anno igitur MCXXXVIII., iv. idus Januarii, Willelmus filius Dunecan, nepos David regis, cum parte exercitus ipsius David castellum, quod Carrum dicitur, in terra regis Angliæ antelucanis insidiis invasit, deprædataque circumquaque regione, illud expugnare cœpit. Deinde ipse rex cum Henrico filio suo et cum majore exercitu *fo.* 40. *b.* illuc adveniens, et omnium virium suarum conatus explorans, balistis et aliis machinis et variis assultibus oppidum expugnare aggressus est, ac deinde illud iij. ebdomadis obsedit. Sed nichil profecit; immo, Deo auxiliante, omnis ejus conatus in contrarium illi conversus est. Nam milites et alii, qui in castello erant, se et oppidum optime defendentes, signiferum ejus et alios multos de hominibus suis in conspectu ejus interfecerunt, et multos plures vulneraverunt.[1] Cernens autem rex laborem suum illic cassari, et sibi suisque grave dampnum de die in diem crescere, indignatione et ira inflammatus, tandem oppido relicto ad Northymbriam devastandam cum omni multitudine sua properavit. Igitur ille detestandus exercitus, omni paganorum genere atrocior, nec Deo nec hominibus reverentiam deferens, tota provincia deprædata, utriusque sexus cujusque ætatis et conditionis homines

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[1] *vulneraverunt*, thus in MS.

A.D. 1138.

Savagery of the Scotch troops.

passim trucidavit; villas, ecclesias, domos destruxit, spoliavit, accendit. Namque languentes in grabatis, ac mulieres prægnantes et parturientes, et in cunis infantes, et alios innocentes inter ubera et in sinibus matrum suarum, cum ipsis matribus, et decrepitos senes et defectas anus et ceteros qualibet occasione debiles, ubicunque inveniebant, in ore gladii trucidaverunt, vel lanceis suis confixerunt. Et quanto miserabiliore mortis genere illos disperdere poterant, tanto plus gratulabantur. Unde apertissime ibi impletum esse videtur quod psalmista conquerendo deflebat, dicens, "Deus venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, "polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam,[1]" et cetera quæ in illo psalmo sequuntur.[2] Fertur etiam quod in quodam loco multos parvulos congregatos occiderunt, eorumque sanguinem in quendam rivum, quem antea præcluserant, effundendo collegerunt, sicque ipsam aquam cruentatam, immo jam ex maxima parte cruorem, biberunt.[3] Dicunt etiam quod in ecclesiis crucifixos, quanto turpius poterant, in Christi ignominiam et ipsorum confusionem demembraverunt, et altaria suffoderunt, et juxta et super ipsa clericos et innocentes laceraverunt. Unde non inmerito iterum cum propheta gemendo proclamare possumus, "Deus, repulisti nos et destruxisti nos, "iratus es, sed nondum misertus es nobis," et cetera quæ ibi sunt. Coadunatus autem erat iste nefandus exercitus de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbranis et Cumbris, de Teswetadala et[4] Lodonea, de Pictis, qui vulgo Galleweienses dicuntur, et Scottis; nec erat qui eorum numerum sciret. Infiniti enim absque omni mandato, aut deprædandi amore, aut

Ps. lxxviii. 1.

Ps. lix. 1.

Composition of the Scotch army.

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[1] The latter part thus in MS.: *tuam, p. t. s. t. p. i. in p. c.*

[2] *secuntur* is the spelling in the MS.

[3] *biberunt*, interlined in darker ink.

[4] The MS. reads *et*.

A.D. 1138.

occasione ulciscendi, aut sola voluntate nocendi, qualibet[1] regio illa habundabat, se supradictis commiscuerunt.

Extent of country ravaged.

Igitur per provinciam discurrentes et nemini parcentes, exceptis oppidis et maritima regione, quæ ex orientali parte est, fere totam Northymbriam usque ad Tinam fluvium hac vice ferro et flamma vastaverunt. Illam autem in reditu suo destruere proposuerant. Quædam etiam pars exercitus illius pertransiens Tinam, et in solitudinibus innumeros homines perimens, maximam partem terræ sancti Cuthberti ad occidentalem plagam eodem modo devastavit. Dum autem hæc a suis fierent, rex Scottiæ cum multitudine non modica apud Corabrigham[2] morabatur. Hac tempestate, in terra Ranulfi de Merlai, de observantiis Cisterciensium destructum est quoddam cœnobium,[3] eodem anno constructum, et plurima alia gravissimis *fo.* 41. vexationibus sunt oppressa. Unde et illud cœnobium quod ad Tinæ fluminis hostium situm est, quod Anglice Tinemuthe dicitur, ut sibi et illic existentibus pro præsenti necessitate pacem redimeret, regi Scottiæ et suis xxvij. marcas argenti persolvit. In hac autem procellosæ tempestatis rabie illud nobile monasterium Haugustaldense, quamvis in medio concursu et quasi in via illius nefandi exercitus et supradictorum malorum situm, undique ab eis coangustaretur; tamen ob declaranda merita sanctorum Andreæ apostoli et Wilfridi episcopi et confessoris, advocatorum ejus, et ceterorum patronorum, scilicet sanctorum Accæ et Alcmundi et Eatæ, episcoporum et confessorum, et aliorum sanctorum in eadem ecclesia quiescentium, Deo auxiliante, suis et omnibus ad illud refugientibus pacem firmissimam exhibuit, et omnibus illis contra omnes hostiles impetus tutissimum asilum extitit.

Safety of Hexham Priory.

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[1] The scribe has apparently omitted some words between *nocendi* and *qualibet*.

[2] Corbridge on the Tyne, near Hexham (Raine).

[3] A note at the foot of the page and in a later hand says *Novum Monasterium* (Newminster).

A.D. 1138. Verumptamen primo Picti ad Tinam fluvium, juxta eandem villam fluentem, cum maximo impetu irruentes, ipsam sicut et alia destruere proposuerant. Sed mox, antequam prædictum amnem transirent, a compatriotis duo de numero illorum sunt interfecti. Quod ceteri cernentes, exterriti retrorsum abierunt. Præterea duo de eadem gente Pictorum devenerunt ad quoddam oratorium sancti Michaelis archangeli,[1] ex eadem boreali parte Tinæ fluminis situm, quod ad prædictam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam pertinebat. Frangentes igitur ejus hostium, quod ibi repererunt secum abstulerunt. Sed vindicta Dei non defuit. Nam mox dæmoni traditi, sensu privantur, et prout furor illos exagitabat, in conspectu omnium per nemora et rura nocte et die passim discurrentes, alter ipsi sibi os primo lapidibus conterens, deinde a quodam abscisis femoribus, alter seipsum in Tina submergens, uterque miserabiliter utraque morte dampnati perierunt. His ita factis, alii de exercitu pavefacti, prædictæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ possessiones non sunt amplius ausi invadere. Igitur David rex Scottiæ et Henricus comes, filius ejus, illi monasterio et fratribus illius, et omnibus ad illud pertinentibus, suam perpetuam pacem de se et de omnibus suis concesserunt, idque[2] per sua privilegia, quæ in eadem ecclesia conservantur, confirmaverunt. Hoc tantummodo interjecto, ut ipsi sibi et suis mutuam pacem servarent. Illa itaque nobilis basilica a sancto Wilfrido fundata, antiquæ consuetudinis dignitatem retinens, in hac et in aliis bellorum et discordiarum tempestatibus, innumeris tam pauperibus quam divitibus facta est tutissimum asilum, quibus vitæ subsidium et rerum suarum conservationem contulit.

King David agrees to leave the Hexham monks unmolested.

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[1] Canon Raine identifies this as St. John Lee, about a mile from Hexham.

[2] *idque*, MS., not *atque*.

A.D. 1138.

Stephen reaches the North about Feb. 2.

Retreat of the Scotch to Roxburgh.

Stephen ravages a part of Scotland, but retires about Feb. 16.

Renewed incursion of the Scotch on April 8.

Interea, circa Purificationem sanctæ Mariæ, Stephanus rex Angliæ, cum ingenti multitudine comitum et baronum et cum maximo exercitu equitum et peditum, venit. Quod ubi rex Scottiæ cognovit, relicta Northymbria cum exercitu suo ad terram suam properavit; divertitque ad Carrum, et postea intravit terram suam, et in quibusdam solitudinibus haud procul a Rochasburgh cum exercitu suo latuit, insidiis regi Angliæ præparatis. Speravit enim quod ille in Rochasburgh hospitaretur. Præceperatque ejus civibus, ut quasi fidem illi servaturi eum benigne susciperent: sed et præcepit, ut quando ipse noctu cum suo exercitu superveniret, et multitudo militum, quos in oppido posuerat, subito erumperet, et cum civibus ei occurreret, omnes in unum congregati, undique regem Angliæ incautum circumvallantes, eum cum suis omnibus extinguerent. Sed Deus, qui videt cogitationes hominum quam[1] vanæ sunt, has insidias ad nichilum redegit. Nam rex Angliæ Twedam transiens fluvium, ad Rochasburgh non divertit, sed magna parte terræ fo. 41. b. regis Scottiæ deprædata atque succensa, tum quia multi ex militibus suis nec armis indui volebant nec bella gerere, erat enim initium Quadragesimæ, tum quia rex Scottiæ et sui ei in bello occurrere non audebant, tum quia exercitui suo victus deficiebat, cum suis ad Swthangliam rediit. Verum, peracta Paschali sollempnitate, mox in proxima ebdomada, feria vj., sæpedictus rex Scottiæ cum nefando exercitu suo iterum in Northumbriam rediit; et primo maritimam provinciam, quam alia vice intactam reliquerat, et præter hanc si forte aliquid aliud alibi illæsum præterierat, ac deinde maximam partem terræ S. Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dunelmum et mare, non minori furore et crudelitate quam supradictum est, destruxit. Plurima quoque prædia monachorum,

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[1] *cogitationes .h. quam*, MS.

A.D. 1138.

Panic in the Scotch army.

Siege of Northam.

Ravages in Yorkshire, extending to the possessions of Furness abbey.

Deo ac sancto Cuthberto die et nocte servientium, et hac et alia vice, pariter cum suis cultoribus, similiter consumpsit. Sed sanctus Cuthbertus tandem suorum misertus est. Nam dum sui hæc agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud procul a Dunelmo perhendinabat. Ubi gravi seditione propter quandam feminam orta, Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur. Quo pavore dum valde anxiaretur, ecce falso rumore divulgatur maximum exercitum de Swthanglia adventare. Igitur cibis suis relictis, qui tunc parati erant, nemine persequente, versus terram suam cum omnibus suis fugit, et ad oppidum de Northam, quod in terra sancti Cuthberti est, divertit, illudque obsidens, variis modis et machinis expugnare et capere temptavit. Dumque ibi in obsidione moraretur, Willelmum filium Dunacan,[1] nepotem suum, cum Pictis et parte exercitus sui, in expeditionem ad Eboracensem scyram transmisit. Quo pervenientes, et propter peccata populi victoriam optinentes, possessiones cujusdam nobilis cœnobii, quod in Futhþernessa [2] situm est, et provinciam, quæ Crafna [3] dicitur, ex magna parte ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Igitur nulli gradui, nulli ætati, nulli sexui, nulli conditioni parcentes, liberos et cognatos in conspectu parentum suorum, et dominos in conspectu servorum suorum et e converso, et maritos ante oculos uxorum suarum quanto miserabilius poterant prius trucidaverunt, deinde, proh dolor! solas nobiles matronas et castas virgines, mixtim cum aliis feminis et cum præda, pariter abduxerunt. Nudatas quoque et turmatim resticulis et corrigiis colligatas et copulatas lanceis et telis suis compungentes, ante se illas abegerunt. Hoc idem in aliis bellis, sed in hoc copiosius fecerunt. Deinde illis cum præda dis-

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[1] *Dunacan*, MS.

[2] This, and not *Suththernessa*, is the clear reading of the MS. The castle at the point of the Furness peninsula is called, canon Raine says, the Peel of Futher.

[3] Craven.

A.D. 1138.

partitis, quidam eorum misericordia commoti aliquas ex eis ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ in Carlel liberas tradiderunt. Verum Picti et multi alii illas, quæ eis obvenerunt, secum ad patriam suam duxerunt. Denique illi bestiales homines, adulterium et incestum ac cetera scelera pro nichilo ducentes, postquam more brutorum animalium illis miserrimis abuti pertæsi sunt, eas vel sibi ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendiderunt. Hæc autem ut rex Scottiæ cognovit, ipse cum suis magno exultavit gaudio, ac prædictum castrum solito acrius impugnare aggressus est. Oppidani vero primo optime se defenderunt; verum deinde, tum quia pauci erant, et plures ex illis vulnerati fuerant, quippe ix. tantum milites erant, tum quia a domino suo Gaufrido Dunelmensi episcopo nullum auxilium sperabant, tum quia in talibus conflictibus parum exercitati erant, attoniti deditionem regi fecerunt, cum et vallum optimum esset, et turris fortissima, et eis victualia habundarent. Igitur milites et alii qui erant in oppido magnum vituperium incurrerunt, quia castrum male custodientes nimis cito defecerunt: nec solum illi sed et dominus illorum, quia non pro sua opportunitate et temporis necessitate castrum suum munierat. Milites cum suis Dunelmum redierunt. Rex igitur, recepto oppido et sumpto cibo, qui satis copiose ibi repertus est, mandat episcopo Dunelmensi, quod si relicto Stephano rege Angliæ vellet suæ parti fidelitatem jurare, castrum suum illi redderet, et dampna quæ ei fecerat restauraret. Abnegat episcopus. Fecit ergo rex oppidum destrui.

Surrender of Northam.

fo. 42.

May 8.

Dum autem circa Rogationes hæc ibi agerentur, milites de oppido Carrum exeuntes, quæ juxta illos advehebantur et revehebantur victualia regis David, una cum vehiculis et ministris, infra oppidum suum rapuerunt. Rex ergo nimia inflammatus ira, illos obsidere cum omni multitudine sua festinavit, et oppidum machinis et quibuscunque potuit modis expug-

A.D. 1138. nare iterum aggressus est. Sed Deo auxiliante, omnis conatus ejus incassum cecidit. Insuper etiam perplures[1] suorum vulnerati et læsi sunt ab eis, et nonnulli interfecti. Similiter et in congressionibus, quas ante hanc obsidionem cum Henrico filio regis conseruerant, quosdam occiderant, alios vulneraverant vel retinuerant, et de eis redemptionem acceperunt. Benedictus Deus per omnia, qui protegit pios et tradidit impios. Videns autem rex se frustra circa oppidum laborare, segetes per agros consumi fecit. Deinde de sua et de quibuscumque terris potuit, copiosiorem quam unquam antea habuerat, coadunari exercitum fecit.

Eustace Fitz John turns traitor.

Eustachius quoque filius Johannis,[2] unus de baronibus regis Angliæ, quoddam munitissimum castellum, quod Alnewic dicitur, in Northumbria habens, qui diu clanculo regi Scottiæ faverat, hac vice manifeste perjurus, naturali domino suo, scilicet rege Angliæ, abnegato, ipse cum omni virtute sua contra regnum Angliæ Scottis auxilium ferebat; unde non minimam multitudinem belligerantium secum ducens, ad destruendam Eboracensem scyram cum rege Scottiæ profectus est, et suum alterum castellum nomine Maltun munitissimum, et in eadem provincia juxta fluvium Derewentionem haut procul ab Eboraco situm, de quo in sequentibus dicendum est, regi Scottiæ et suis tradere disposuerat. Rex igitur David duobus tegnionibus, id est baronibus, suis cum gente eorum obsidione Carrum commendata, cum maxima parte sui exercitus ad oppidum, quod Bahanburg dicitur, profectus est. Ubi ante castrum, quodam vallo capto, fere centum homines interemit. Deinde circa illud et circa Milford,[3] oppidum Willelmi Bertram, et in pluribus locis per Northumbriam segetibus vastatis fluvium Tine pertransiit, intransque in terram S. Cuthberti, quæ

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[1] *per perplures*, MS.

[2] See the *Gesta Stephani*, p. 35.

[3] Canon Raine suggests *Mitford*, which is doubtless right.

A.D. 1138.

nondum ad eum venerat sui exercitus partem expectavit. Nec mora, ex ejus edicto Picti et Cumbri et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione ad illum convenerunt. Congregato igitur toto exercitu suo, quia nimius et insuperabilis ei videbatur, revera enim grandis erat, plusquam xxvj. milia hominum habens, nimio exultavit gaudio. Elevatumque est cor ejus et suorum, ac in se et in sua multitudine spem suam ponentes, nec ad Deum ullum respectum habentes, nimis indignanter ac superbe locuti sunt. Nec solum Eboracensem scyram, sed et maximam portionem Angliæ in exterminium dare et meditabantur et minabantur. Non enim aliquam numerositatem præsumere vel posse sibi resistere æstimabant.

The preceding events happened July 22–29 [?].

His autem infra octabas Nativitatis sanctæ Mariæ[1] ita gestis, rex cum suo exercitu Dunelmum præteriens, usque ad Tesam fluvium segetes depopulari, villas et ecclesias, quas alia vice intactas reliquit, more suo frangi, deprædari, succendi fecit. Pertransiens quoque fo. 42. b. Tesam idem factitare cœpit. Verum divina pietas lacrimis innumerabilium viduarum, orphanorum, et miserorum pulsata, illum tantam impietatem diutius impune exercere non est passa. Quippe dumque se suosque ad hujusmodi nequitiam præpararet, omnis ejus apparatus, et quid agere et quo tendere proposuerat, et fama præconante et certis nuntiis intercurrentibus, homines Eboracensis scyræ non latuit. Igitur barones illius provinciæ, scilicet Turstinus archiepiscopus, qui, ut consequenter apparebit, maxime se de[2] hoc negotio intromisit, et Willelmus de Albamarla, Walterus de Gant, Robertus de Brus, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Walterus Espec, Ilbertus de Lesceio, Willelmus de Perci, Ricardus de Curci, Willelmus Fossard,

The ravages of the Scotch rouse archbishop Thurstan and the northern barons.

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[1] This festival occurs on Sept. 8, but the events lead up to the battle of the Standard, which certainly was fought on August 22. Probably therefore we should read "*sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ.*" The octave of this would give the dates July 22–29.

[2] Thus in MS. The construction recurs on p. 176.

A.D. 1138. Robertus de Stutavilla et ceteri potentes et sapientes viri Eboracum convenerunt, et quid consilii in hac tempestate habere deberent, inter se diligenter tractaverunt. Cumque plurimi propter proditionem, in qua multi esse æstimabantur, de sese mutuo diffidentes hæsitarent, et cum principem et conductorem belli non haberent, nam Stephanus rex dominus eorum, ea tempestate non minoribus angustiis in Suthanglia circumventus, ad præsens ad eos venire non poterat, cum paucis tantæ numerositati occurrere formidarent, pæne a sua ac patriæ suæ defensione omnino deficere videbantur, nisi Turstinus eorum archiepiscopus, magnæ constantiæ atque probitatis vir, sermone ac consilio suo illos animasset. Quippe cum esset pastor animarum illorum, non more mercennarii infestante lupo de fuga sibi præsidium sperabat, sed potius super gregis sui dispersione ac pernicie, atque patriæ suæ destructione, gravissimo compassionis dolore sauciatus, omni studio et conatu tantis malis remedium quærebat. Unde et ex divina auctoritate, quæ ei commissa fuerat, et ex regia potestate, quæ illi tunc in hoc negotio tradita erat, et de illorum fidelitate ac probitate eos fideliter admonuit, ne a pessima barbarie per ignaviam se omnes una die prosterni sinerent; sed potius cuncti pariter cum suis per veram pœnitentiam Deo reconciliati, et ad eum toto corde conversi, cujus iram se promeruisse tot ac tanta mala testabantur, fiducialiter ac viriliter pro tanta necessitate agerent. Quod si devote facerent, de misericordia Dei præsumens, eos victores fore prænunciabat. Namque illa pessima gens potius Deo ac sanctæ ecclesiæ quam ipsis quantum poterant adversabantur, et ideo injustam, immo sceleratam causam pugnandi habebant. Ipsorum vero causa justa ac piissima erat, quippe pro sanctæ ecclesiæ ac suæ patriæ defensione periculo se objiciebant.[1] Et si forte Deo placeret sine aliquorum illorum occasu hoc discrimen non posse peragi, tali intentione pugnanti-

Some of the barons are suspected of disloyalty; but all unite round archbishop Thurstan.

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[1] *obiciebant* is the form in MS.

bus non mors formidanda, sed potius optanda erat. A.D. 1138. Promisit etiam eis quod suæ diocesis presbyteros singulos, cum crucibus et parochianis suis, pariter cum illis in bellum procedere faceret, et quod ipse cum suis bello interesse, Deo disponente, cogitabat. Circa eundem tumultum temporis Bernardus de Baiol, quidam de proceribus ejusdem provinciæ, cum multitudine equitum a rege Angliæ missus ad eos venit. Qui et ex parte regis et sua ad idem animos eorum multum accendit. Igitur mandato regis et archiepiscopi sui ammoniti, omnes unanimiter ad unum consilium confirmati, singuli ad sua revertuntur. Post modicum vero unusquisque cum suis munitis ac bellicis armis fo. 43. instructi[1] iterum Eboracum conveniunt. Itaque post acceptam privatam pœnitentiam, illis pariter et omni populo archipræsul triduanum cum eleemosinis indixit jejunium, ac deinde absolutionem, et benedictionem Dei et suam eis sollempniter tribuit. Et quamvis præ nimia infirmitatis et ætatis debilitate ubi necesse erat in lecto gestaretur gestatorio, ipse tamen ad animos eorum accendendos in prœlium cum illis ire voluit. At illi ipsum remanere fecerunt, obsecrantes ut in orationibus et eleemosinis, vigiliis et jejuniis, et in ceteris, quæ ad Deum pertinent,[2] pro eis intercedere satageret; ipsi vero pro ecclesia Dei, et pro illo qui ejus minister erat, prout Ipse eos adjuvare dignaretur, et sicut illorum ordo exigebat, libenter contra hostes pugnarent. Tunc crucem suam, et sancti Petri vexillum, ac suos homines eis tradidit.[3] At illi ad oppidum quod Tresc[4] vocatur iverunt. Inde vero Robertum de Brus et Bernardum de Baiol ad regem Scottiæ, terram sancti Cuthberti, ut supradictum est, jam[5] devastantem, miserunt; qui cum summa humili-

The barons first ask for peace.

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[1] *instructis*, MS.

[2] *vel sunt*, interlined above *pertinent*, MS.

[3] Marked to this order in MS.

[4] Thirsk.

[5] *jam*, interlined, MS.

A.D. 1138. tate ac benignitate eum obsecraverunt, ut saltem extunc a sua crudelitate cessaret. Quod si illorum consilio adquiesceret, quem postulaverat comitatum Northumbriæ Henrico filio suo se impetraturos a rege Angliæ firmissime promiserunt. At ille corde obstinato cum suis[1] pariter et eorum verba sprevit, et eos indignanter derisit. Itaque Robertus reddito humagio[2] quod ei fecerat, et Bernardus fidelitate, quam una vice ab eo deprehensus illi juraverat, ad suos socios reversi sunt. Omnes igitur proceres illius provinciæ, et de Notingaham scyra Willelmus Peverel, et Gaufridus Halsalin, et de Derbia scyra[3] Robertus de Ferers, et alii principales et sapientes viri sese adinvicem sacramentorum obligatione assecurant et confirmant, quod nullus eorum, quamdiu eum adjuvare posset, in hoc negotio alium desereret; et ita cuncti aut simul morerentur aut vincerent. Eodem tempore misit archiepiscopus eis Radulfum cognomento Nouellum, Orcadensium episcopum, cum quodam de archidiaconibus suis et aliis clericis, qui, populis cotidie ad eos undique catervatim confluentibus, vice sua et pœnitentiam injungeret, et absolutionem daret.[4] Misit quoque eis presbyteros cum parochianis suis, sicut eis promiserat.

King David refuses to listen to proposals.

Dum itaque adventum Scottorum expectarent, ecce redeuntibus prænunciis, quos ad explorandum præmiserant, regem cum exercitu suo jam Tesam fluvium pertransisse, et more suo jam suam provinciam destruentem cognoscunt. Ergo cum summa festinatione eis occurrunt, pertranseuntesque villam quæ Aluartun dicitur, ad campum, qui duobus miliariis ab ea distabat, summo mane pervenerunt. Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ, quam ibi adduxe-

The English assemble at Northallerton.

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[1] *suis*, interlined, MS.

[2] *humagio*, MS.

[3] *Willelmus Peverel . . scyra*, in margin at foot of page, but marked to this point.

[4] The verbs are in the singular in the MS.

A.D. 1138.

rant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod Standard appellaverunt. Unde Hugo Sotevagina,[1] Eboracensis archidiaconus,

Description of the Standard.

"Dicitur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic
"Militiæ probitas, vincere sive mori."

In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et sanctorum Petri Apostoli, et Johannis Beverlacensis et Wilfridi Ripensis confessorum ac pontificum, vexilla suspenderunt. Hoc autem ideo fecerant, ut Jesus Christus Dominus noster per præsentiam sui corporis eis dux belli esset, quod pro ejus ecclesia ac sua patria defendenda susceperant. In hoc quoque suis providentes ut, si aliquo casu a se disjungerentur et *fo.* 43. *b.* elongarentur, evidens et certum signum haberent quo ad suos socios reverterentur, et ubi auxilium recuperare possent. Deinde vix se bellicis armis instruxerant, cum ecce rex Scottiæ, cum toto exercitu suo ad prœliandum paratissimo ac promptissimo, cominus adesse nunciatur. Itaque maxima pars equitum, equis relictis, fiunt pedites. Horum electissimi mixti cum sagittariis in prima acie præordinantur. Ceteri vero, præter prœlii ordinatores et incentores, cum baronibus juxta et circum Standard in pectore belli condensantur. Reliqua autem multitudo undique conglomerata eos circumvallabat. Equestris vero cohors et equi militum, ne a clamore et strepitu Scottorum exterrerentur, paulo longius abducti erant. Similiter vero ex parte adversariorum ipse rex et pæne omnes sui sunt effecti pedites, [et] equi eorum remotius servabantur. In fronte belli erant Picti, in medio rex cum militibus et Anglis suis; cetera barbaries undique circumfusa fremebat. Dumque tali ordine ad prœliandum procederent, ecce Standard cum vexillis haud procul aspicitur, moxque ipsius regis ac suorum

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[1] His life of archbishop Thurstan is in a MS. in York Cathedral Library.

A.D. 1138.

The battle of the Standard, August 22.

corda ingenti pavore et horrore obstupuerunt. Obstinati tamen in malitia sua cœpta mala perficere sategerunt. Igitur in octabis Assumptionis sanctæ Mariæ xj. Kal. Septemb., feria ij., inter primam et tertiam hujus prœlii conflictus initus et finitus est. Nam statim in primo congressu innumeris Pictis interfectis, ceteri projectis armis turpem fugam inierunt. Campus cadaveribus repletur, quamplurimi capiuntur, rex et alii omnes terga dederunt. Denique de tanto exercitu, omnes aut cæsi sunt, aut capti, aut sicut oves percusso pastore dispersi; mirumque in modum, quasi sensu alienati, non minus in circumjacentes regiones hostium suorum a patria sua elongando, quam adversus patriam suam revertendo, fugerunt. Sed ubicumque sunt reperti, tanquam oves occisionis sunt interfecti. Justoque Dei judicio qui multos miserabiliter interemerant ac insepultos reliquerant, ipsi multo miserabilius trucidati, nec patrio nec peregrino more sepulchris[1] usi, canibus, avibus, ac feris expositi, aut lacerati et discerpti sunt, aut sub divo contabuerunt et computruerunt. Rex quoque, qui paulo ante præ nimia mentis elatione et exercitus sui numerositate cœli sidera vertice tangere videbatur, et ideo vel totam vel maximam partem Angliæ in exterminium ducere minabatur, mox inglorius ac paucis comitatus, cum summa confusione et ignominia, vix vivus evasit.

Hor. Od., i. 1, 36.

Itaque divinæ ultionis virtus in hoc quoque manifestissime claruit, quod victorum exercitus inæstimabiliter major erat quam vincentium. Nec interfectorum numerus ab aliquo æstimari potest. Nam sicut plures testantur, de illo exercitu qui de sola Scottia exiit, plusquam x. millia defuisse a reversis recensiti sunt. Nam per diversa loca Deirorum, Berniciorum, Northamymbrorum, Cumbrorum, et aliarum provinciarum, post bellum multo plures sunt interempti quam in bello sunt interfecti. At Anglorum exercitus, paucis

The Scotch are harassed in their retreat.

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[1] *sepulchri*, MS.

A.D. 1138.

de suis amissis, Deo auxiliante victoria expedite potitus, sumpta præda, quæ satis copiosa ibi reperta est, brevi fere totus dissolvitur, et unusquisque ad propria revertens, vexilla quæ acceperant cum gaudio et gratiarum actione ecclesiis sanctorum reconsignant. Quippe cum cultioribus vestibus et omnibus divitiis suis ad hoc bellum, quasi ad regales nuptias, processerant.

Siege of Malton castle.

Deinde quidam baronum ad oppidum Eustachii *fo.* 44. quod Maltun vocatur, de quo supradictum est, cum parte exercitus diverterunt, villaque destructa illud obsederunt. Tempore namque belli, ex præcepto prædicti domini sui, milites ex illo eruperant, atque plurimas villas flamma consumpserant; tandem datis et acceptis viij. dierum induciis obsidĩo remansit. Solus autem ille locus, in quo prædictum prœlium factum est, sancti Cuthberti erat, cum totus circumjacens campus alterius juris esset. Quod divina dispensatione, sed tamen præter intentionem belligerantium, accidit. Namque facile datur intelligi, quod divina pietas noluit diutius esse inultum scelus, quod in terra sanctissimi ac dilectissimi confessoris et pontificis sui commiserant; immo more consueto[1] citius vindicavit. Hujus autem facti rumor ubi aures regis Angliæ attigit, valde lætus effectus est. Unde etiam quia audivit eos se viriliter in hoc negotio habuisse, Willelmum de Albamarla in Eboracensi et Robertum de Ferrers in Derbiensi scyra comites fecit. Notandum quoque quod et sibi et suis, et in Suthanglia et in Normannia, contra suos adversarios pugnantibus circa idem tempus similiter optime contigit.

Siege of Carham.

Rex autem Scottiæ recepto Henrico filio suo, et recollectis suis, qui sparsim de pugna, non ut consortes sed potius sicut hostes inimicissimi, fugerant, obsidionem apud Carrum corroboravit. Namque Angli et Scotti, et Picti et ceteri barbari, ubicumque casu sese[2] inveniebant, quicumque prævalebant alios mutuo

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[1] Thus in MS.

[2] *sese*, MS.

A.D. 1138. vel trucidabant, vel vulnerabant, vel saltem spoliabant, et ita justo Dei judicio æque a suis sicut ab alienis opprimebantur. Rex igitur his cognitis graves calumpnias et exactiones in suos intorsit, et infinitam pecuniam ex eis extorsit. Necnon firmius quam unquam antea fecerat sacramentis et obsidibus illos sibi obligavit, quod nunquam amplius eum in bello desererent. Deinde oppidum Carrum machinis, ac novis instrumentis, et pluribus modis capere temptavit. At oppidani machinis machinas frangentes, ex regis hominibus multos variis mortibus peremerunt, et plurimos vulneraverunt, unum tantum de militibus suis amittentes. Quippe de castello exiens, et in sua probitate nimium confidens, et ideo temerarie audax, dum incautus circa fractionem cujusdam machinæ moraretur, a multitudine Scottorum oppressus et extinctus est. Videns itaque rex omnem conatum suum nichil prævalere, sed potius sibi suisque multum nocere, machinis[1] remotis et congressionibus dimissis, suos, licet invitos, oppidum diligenter obsidere coegit. Quippe propter magna dampna et angustias ac penurias, quæ sæpe ibi perpessi fuerant, diuturnæ obsidionis pertæsi erant.

Ravages committed by Eadgar, son of earl Cospatric, and others.

Ea tempestate quidam pestilentes, quibus omne studium et gaudium erat scelera excogitare ac perpetrare, ut malignitatis suæ desideria efficacius consummarent detestabili concordia in unum convenerunt. Hujus vero execrabilis sodalitii Eadgarus, filius nothus Cospatrici comitis, et Robertus et Uctred, filii Meldred, principales ac duces erant. Igitur rapacitate stimulante, et impunitate patrocinante, ac furore exagitante, more luporum quæritantes prædam quam devorarent, per Northymbriam discurrerunt. Pertranseuntes quoque Tinam fluvium, in terram sancti Cuthberti pervenerunt; sed non invento ibi quod possent vel

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[1] *manichis* (sic), MS.

A.D. 1138.

auderent rapere, vacua manu reversi sunt. Ergo in quadam villa parrochiæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ, quæ *fo.* 44. *b.* Herintun[1] dicitur, prædam quam invenerunt abstulerunt. Deinde, interpositis duabus noctibus, iidem prædones aliam villam Digentun[2] vocatam invaserunt. Hæc autem propria villa erat canonicis prædictæ ecclesiæ, et ab Hestaldasham versus orientem viij. miliariis distabat. Igitur interfectis ibi iij. de servientibus ipsorum canonicorum, et multis convitiis priori illorum illatis, qui forte eadem nocte ibidem supervenerat, cum præda discesserunt. Et hoc præter spem eorum ipsis canonicis accidit: namque rex Scottiæ, ut supradictum est, ipsis et hominibus[3] et omnibus rebus, et parrochiæ illorum et nominatim huic villæ ipsorum, de se et de omnibus suis firmissimam pacem dederat.

Alberic, bishop of Ostia, the papal legate, visits the North.

Circa idem tempus quidam Albericus Hostiensis episcopus in illas partes venit, quem Innocentius Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, ut legationis officio in Anglia et Scottia fungeretur, miserat. Erat autem vir iste natione Gallicus, professione monachus, observatione Cluniacus, divina ac seculari eruditione perspicuus, in ecclesiasticis negotiis optime exercitatus, facundia præclarus, consilio providus, et, quod his omnibus majus est, in habitu et vultu, denique in omni conversatione et actione sua, magnæ mansuetudinis ac religionis documentum præferebat. Hic igitur primo apud Cluniacum ad conversionem veniens, propter prudentiam ac religionem suam supprior ibi effectus est. Unde ad ejus providentiam omnis regularium observationum diligentia maxime pertinebat. Deinde in Francia apud Parisius in cella, quæ dicitur ad sanctum Martinum de Campis, prioris officium strenue aliquandiu explevit.

Personal history of bishop Alberic.

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[1] Errington.

[2] Dissington, parish of Newburn.

[3] *et omnibus hominibus*, MS., but *omnibus* is underlined, the sign for omission in this MS.

A.D. 1138. Post aliquot vero annos, quia fratribus suis valde necessarius ac dilectus erat, iterum ad supprioratus dignitatem domum revocatus est; exinde vero ad Vergelense[1] cœnobium electus est, ut ei abbatis jure præesset; deinde ad Hostiensis ecclesiæ præsulatum canonica electione sublimatus est. Hujus autem ecclesiæ episcopis, ex speciali antiqui honoris prærogativa, constitutum est ipsum Apostolicum consecrare. Iste igitur, ut supra dictum est, in Angliam veniens, de statu sanctæ Romanæ matris ecclesiæ omnibus ejus fidelibus filiis magnum gaudium attulit. Namque dominus papa supranominatus universis catholicæ ecclesiæ filiis cartam suam per illum direxit. In hac autem referebat quomodo dum navis S. Petri diutissime ac gravissime fluctibus inimicorum occupata et operta præcipitaretur, atque scopulis scismaticorum conquassata ac dilacerata pessumdaretur, de salutis suæ reparatione jam pæne desperare cogebatur; quia ineffabilis desolatio atque detestabilis abominatio, qua a primogenito Sathanæ, scilicet Petroleone et ejus fautoribus, miserabiliter afflicta est, viij. annis continuis duravit. Nec opus est eam describere, cum fere ab universo orbe cognita sit atque defleta. Verumptamen immensa Christi pietas, quæ quasi dormire atque eam, peccatis nostris exigentibus, penitus neglexisse videbatur, a suis fidelibus precum et lacrimarum instantia pulsata ac tandem excitata, omnem pelagi furorem,[2] ventorum sævitiam, tempestatum rabiem potenti virtutis suæ imperio compescuit: mutans itaque procellam ejus in auram lenitatis, in portu tranquillitatis et in gaudio securitatis illam requiescere fecit. Porro omnium inimicorum suorum superbiam et gloriam in conculcationem et ignominiam convertit, ac omnium sibi adversantium colla suæ potestatis imperio subjecit.

The papal schism of 1130.

Extract from pope Innocent's letter.

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[1] Vezelay.

[2] *vel fragorem* interlined, as an alternative reading, above *furorem*, MS. The point at which actual quotation begins is uncertain.

Ps. viii. 1, 2.

fo. 45.

A.D. 1138.

Unde non inmerito cum Psalmista proclamare possumus: "Domine Dominus noster, quam ammirabile est "nomen tuum in universa terra; quoniam elevata "est magnificentia tua super cœlos."[1] Exceptis autem his litteris, quæ in hunc modum de recuperatione pacis et unitatis sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et de reparatione Apostolicæ potestatis et dignitatis loquebantur, alias litteras regibus Angliæ et Scottiæ, et Turstino archiepiscopo Eboracensi, quippe tunc temporis Cantuariensis metropolis proprio pastore carebat, et episcopis, atque abbatibus, ac prælatis sanctæ ecclesiæ utriusque regni a prædicto papa directas, de auctoritate suæ legationis attulit. Igitur ab his omnibus honorifice susceptus est. Abbatem etiam Molelmismi cœnobii, cum pluribus monachis de transmarinis partibus, secum adduxit, et quendam alterum nomine Ricardum, illius monasterii abbatem quod dicitur Ad Fontes, magnæ religionis et auctoritatis virum, mox ut in Angliam venit ad se convocavit. Hos igitur egregiæ discretionis et virtutis viros viæ et vitæ suæ comites ac testes inseparabiliter habuit, ut et illorum consilio et auxilio quæ tractanda erant tractaret, ac eorum testimonio conversationis ejus honestas commendabilior redderetur. Ecclesias igitur episcopatuum et cœnobia, tam clericorum quam monachorum, visitando[2] fere per totam Angliam pertransivit, et a singulis sollempniter receptus est. Tandem vero usque ad Dunelmum pervenit.

The legate Alberic chooses the abbots of Molesmes and Fountains as his assessors.

Eodem tempore Willelmus Cumin, David regis Scottiæ cancellarius, de supradicto bello fugiens, captus et incarceratus ibidem detinebatur. Quem mox de carcere eripiens, domino suo liberum reddidit. Igitur habens secum duos episcopos, Robertum Here-

He frees William Cumin, chancellor of Scotland.

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[1] *est n. t. ī. u. t. qm̃ ele.* ÷ *m. t. s. c.* is the abbreviated form of the quotation in the MS.

[2] Marked for this position in MS.

A.D. 1138. fordensem et Adthelwlfum Carlelensem, et iij. abbates ac plurimos clericos, per solitudinem ad Haugustaldense cœnobium pervenit. A fratribus autem loci illius satis honorabiliter susceptus, de dampno quod in occisione hominum suorum et in deprædatione terræ suæ, ut prædiximus, illis recenter acciderat, multum diligenter eos consolatus est. Deinde per Northymbriam et Cumbarland[1] iiij. die ante festum sancti Michaelis ad Carlel pervenit, ibique regem Scottiæ cum episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, baronibus suæ terræ reperit. Illi vero diu a Cisalpina, immo fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petroleoni et apostasiæ ejus nimium favisse videbantur. Tunc vero divina gratia inspirati, mandata Innocentii papæ et legatum ejus omnes unanimiter cum magna veneratione susceperunt. Igitur triduo cum eis de suæ legationis negotiis diligenter tractavit. Et quoniam cognovit quod Johannes Glesguensis episcopus curam animarum quam habuerat nulli commiserat, et sine licentia ac clanculo episcopatum suum reliquerat, et, nulla evidente necessitate cogente, apud Tironam monachus effectus est; de illo definivit, ut regius nuncius cum ipsius et regis pariter litteris pro eo mitteretur, et si redire nollet, sententia super illum daretur. Et ita factum est. Convenit quoque regem de reformanda pace inter eum et regem Angliæ, et hujus rei gratia ad ejus pedes cecidit, scilicet ut sanctæ ecclesiæ et sui ipsius et suorum misereretur, quibus tot et tanta mala fecerat. Sed vix inducias impetravit, quod nullum exercitum et nullum malum, excepta obsidione quæ circa Carrum erat, ante festum sancti Martini in terram regis Angliæ induceret. Hoc etiam apud Pictos impetravit, quod omnes puellas ac mulieres captivas, quas habere possent, ante eundem terminum ad Carlel reducerent, et eas ibi libertati

The legate reaches Carlisle on Sept. 26.

He endeavours to mitigate the ferocity of the war.

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[1] *Cumbarland*, MS.

A.D. 1138.

redderent. Ipsi quoque et omnes alii firmissime ei promiserunt, quod nullo modo ecclesias amplius violarent; et quod parvulis et fœmineo sexui et ex infirmitate et ætate debilibus[1] parcerent; et omnino neminem nisi sibi resistentem amplius occiderent. Rex quoque cum priore de Hestaldasham, qui illuc cum legato venerat, antequam illum interpellaret de dampno ipsius et fratrum suorum locutus, illud multum planxit, et promisit quod totum restitui faceret; et insuper de injuria, quæ illis et eorum ecclesiæ facta fuerat, et de interfectione hominum suorum eis rectum facere suos cogeret. Quod et ex magna parte fecit. Nam et eorum et hominum suorum pecunia fere tota reddita est.

fo. 45. *b.*

The legate returns southwards on Sept. 29.

His ita factis, legatus ipso die festivitatis sancti Michaelis inde discedens, per Hestaldasham et Dunelmum in Suthangliam rediit, narravitque S[tephano] regi Angliæ suisque quid apud David regem Scottiæ èt suos profecerat.

Condition of the garrison of Carham.

Rex autem Scottiæ post paucos dies, per quosdam qui de oppido Carrum exierant, cognovit, quod illi qui in oppido erant gravissima ciborum penuria jam angustiabantur: unde eos arctius custodiri præcepit Nec hoc falsum erat, namque milites qui intus erant præ inopia victualium equos suos interfecerant, ac sale conditos jam ex maxima parte eos comederant, nec tamen adhuc oppidum reddere volebant; immo cibo eorum jam penitus deficiente, armati de castello exire, et per medios hostes irrumpere, seque quamdiu possent defendere cogitaverant, nisi Deus interim eis aliud consilium providisset. Igitur circa festum sancti Martini Willelmus abbas de Riesvalle in provinciam illam veniens, ex parte Walteri Espec, cujus illud, ut supradictum est, oppidum erat, eis certissime dixit, quatinus regi Scottiæ illud traderent. Noverat enim

Nov. 11.

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[1] *debilibus*, interlined MS.

A.D. 1138. bene quomodo præ penuria victualium jam nimia angustia macerati fuerant. Rex igitur, interveniente abbate, xxiiij. equos eis dedit, ac illos cum armis suis abire permisit, oppidumque receptum mox destrui fecit. Supranominatus vero legatus, ut prædictum est, per episcopatus ac monasteria ad curiam regis Angliæ reversus, quendam alium legatum, nomine[1]
qui nuperrime a domino papa Innocentio venerat ibidem repperit. Igitur Turstinum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et omnes episcopos, atque abbates, ac priores canonicorum per totam Angliam summoneri fecerunt, ut ad festum sancti Nicholaii[2] in civitate Lundonia ad generale concilium convenirent. Quibus præfinito tempore ac loco cum S[tephano] rege Angliæ congregatis, de ecclesiasticis causis cum illis ambo legati tractare cœperunt. Albricus tamen priorem locum optinuit. Fuit autem concilium hujusmodi.[3]

Council of Westminster begins on December 13.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXXVIII., pontificatus autem domini papæ Innocentii secundi anno ix., regnante piissimo et illustrissimo S[tephano] rege Anglorum, H[enrici] magni regis nepote, anno vero regni ipsius tertio, celebrata est synodus Lundoniæ in ecclesia sancti Petri apostolorum principis apud Westmonasterium, mense Decembris, tertia decima die ejusdem mensis; ubi, post multarum discussionem causarum, promulgata sunt hæc capitula et ab omnibus confirmata, numero xvij. Præfuit autem illi synodo Albricus, Hostiensis episcopus et prædicti domini papæ Innocentii in Angliam et Scottiam legatus, cum episcopis diversarum provinciarum xviij. et abbatibus circiter xxx. et cum innumera cleri ac[4] populi mul-

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[1] *nomine* followed by a short blank space, MS. Twysden conceals this by omitting *nomine*. Perhaps this is the legate to whom Gilbert Foliot addressed a letter (xvi.)—"J. sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ . . "legato," unless Imarus bishop of Tusculum is meant.

[2] sic MS.

[3] The *contin. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 114, also gives the preamble which follows.

[4] *ac*, MS.

A.D. 1138.

titudine. Vacabat autem tunc temporis Cantuariensis ecclesia, et infirmabatur Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus: Willelmum tamen, ecclesiæ sancti Petri Eboracensis decanum, cum quibusdam clericis suis illuc direxit. Sunt autem hæc capitula:—[1]

No fees to be exacted for Sacraments.

" Sanctorum[2] patrum canonica instituta sequentes auctori- *fo.* 46. " tate Apostolica interdicimus, ut pro crismate, pro oleo, pro " baptismate, pro pœnitentia, pro visitatione infirmorum, seu " desponsatione mulierum, seu unctione, pro communione " corporis Christi, pro sepultura, nullum omnino precium " exigatur. Quod qui præsumpserit, excommunicationi sub- " jaceat.

Limitation of Reservation of the Host.

(2.) " Sancimus etiam ut ultra octo dies corpus Christi non " reservetur, neque ad infirmos, nisi per sacerdotem, aut per " diaconem, aut necessitate instante per quemlibet, cum summa " reverentia deferatur.

No gifts of any kind to be taken at consecrations.

(3.) " Item, Apostolica auctoritate sancimus, ut in conse- " crationibus episcoporum, vel abbatum benedictionibus, non " cappa, non indumentum ecclesiasticum, neque quicquam ab " episcopo vel a ministris ejus exigatur. Et in dedicationi- " bus quoque ecclesiarum, non tapete, non manutergium, non " bacinia, nichilque omnino, præter procurationem[3] sacris " canonibus institutam, requiratur.

No extra fees to be taken by bishops acting on behalf of others.

(4.) " Si quis episcopus in diocesi sua per alium episcopum " ecclesiam consecrari fecerit, Apostolica auctoritate prohi- " bemus, ne quid inde ultra procurationem[4] ejusdem episcopi " exigat.

Lay investiture and simony prohibited.

(5.) " Nullus omnino de manu laici ecclesiam seu quæcum- " que ecclesiastica beneficia accipiat. Cum autem investitu- " ram per episcopum aliquis acceperit, præcipimus ut super " Ewangelium juret, se nichil propter hoc per se, vel per " aliquam aliam personam dedisse alicui vel promisisse. Si " autem præsumptum fuerit,[5] irrita hujusmodi donatio erit, " et tam dator quam acceptor ultioni canonicæ subjaceat.

Against succession to benefices

(6.) " Sancimus præterea ne quis ecclesiam, seu quælibet " beneficia ecclesiastica paterna sibi vendicet hæreditate, aut

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[1] The *capitula* which follow are distinguished by coloured capitals.

[2] Gervase, i. 107, supplies a copy of these canons which omits one of them and presents many variations. Only the more important of these are noticed here.

[3] *corredium*, Gervase.

[4] *corredium*, Gerv. again.

[5] The copy given by Gervase simply adds " *irritum fore decernimus* " after *fuerit*.

A.D. 1138.

by inheritance.

" successorem sibi in ecclesiastico constituat beneficio. Quod " si præsumptum fuerit irritum fore decernimus, cum Psalmista dicentes, 'Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam' 'qui " 'dixerunt, Hæreditate possideamus[1] sanctuarium Dei.'[2]

Ps. lxxxii. 14. 13.

Against ordination by stranger bishops not delegated.

(7.) "Clericos a non suis episcopis absque literis proprii " episcopi ordinatos, a susceptorum officiis ordinum inhibemus: solique Romano pontifici eorundem plenaria restitutio " reservetur, nisi religionis habitum susceperint.

Against the marriage of clerks.

(8.) "Sanctorum patrum vestigiis inhærentes, presbyteros, " diaconos, subdiaconos uxoratos aut concubinarios, ecclesiasticis officiis et beneficiis privamus; ac ne quis eorum " missam audire præsumat Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus.

Against clerical usurers.

(9.) "Fœneratores[3] clericos, et turpia lucra sectantes, et " publica secularium negotia procurantes, ab officio et beneficio ecclesiastico nichilominus removendos esse censemus.

Against laying violent hands on clerks.

(10) "Si quis clericum, aut monachum vel sanctimonialem, vel " quamlibet ecclesiasticam personam occiderit, incarceraverit, " vel nefarias ei manus intulerit, nisi tertio summonitus[4] " satisfecerit, anathemate feriatur. Neque quisquam ei præter " Romanum pontificem, nisi mortis urgente periculo, modum " pœnitentiæ finalis injungat. Si autem impœnitens mortuus " fuerit, corpus ejus inhumatum remaneat.

Against usurpation of church property.

(11.) "Si quis res ecclesiarum mobiles vel immobiles violenter usurpare præsumpserit, nisi post[5] canonicam vocationem emendaverit, eum excommunicari præcipimus.

Churches only to be built by licence.

(12.) "Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus, ne quis absque " licentia episcopi sui in possessione sua ecclesiam, vel oratorium constituat.

The clergy are forbidden to use arms.

(13.) "His subjungimus quoque auctoritatem Nicholai papæ " dicentis, 'Cum discreti sint milites Christi a militibus " 'seculi, non convenit militem ecclesiæ seculo militare, per " 'quod ad effusionem sanguinis necesse sit pervenire. Denique, sicut turpe[6] est laicum missas facere, sacramenta " 'corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, ita ridiculum et " 'inconveniens est clericum arma sustollere, et ad bella

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[1] $\overset{i}{q}$. *d. h. p.* is the form of the quotation at this point.

[2] Gervase's copy altogether omits this canon, a curious one which recognises the *existence* of marriages among the parochial clergy, while the next canon but one strictly forbids the clergy to marry.

[3] *Venatores*, Gervase: a peculiar variation.

[4] *admonitus*, Gerv.

[5] *per*, Gerv.

[6] *turpe aut perniciosum est*, Gerv.

2 Tim. ii. 14. "'procedere, cum Paulus apostolus dicat, Nemo militans Deo "'implicat etc.' A.D. 1138.

(14.) "Item adjicimus hoc decretum Innocentii papæ dicentis "Victrico Rotomagensi archiepiscopo,[1] 'Monachi diu morati "'in monasteriis si postea ad clericatum pervenerint, non "'debent aliquatenus a priore proposito deviare: sicut in "'monasteriis positi fuerunt, ita et in clericatus ordine "'degere debent, et quod diu servaverunt id in altiori gradu "'positi amittere non debent.' *fo.* 46. *b.* Monks when ordained are not released from their vows.

(15.) "Prohibemus etiam Apostolica auctoritate sanctimo"niales variis seu grisiis sabellinis, marterinis, hereminis, "beverinis pellibus et anulis aureis uti, sive torturam capil"lorum et compositionem capillorum facere.[2] Hujus decreti "quæ inventa fuerit violatrix anathemati subjaceat. Nuns forbidden to wear furs, &c.

(16.) "De omnibus primitiis rectas decimas dari Apostolica "auctoritate præcipimus; quas qui reddere noluerit, anathe"matis in eum sententia proferatur. Tenths of first fruits.

(17.) "Sancimus præterea, ut si magistri scolarum aliis "scolas suas pro precio legendas locaverint, ecclesiasticæ vin"dictæ subjaceant."[3] Schools not to be let for hire.

In hoc autem concilio tractatum est de archiepiscopo ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam eligendo, quæ, ut supradictum est, tunc proprio pastore carebat. Tandem vero post proximam Epiphaniam hæc causa finem habuit, cum Beccensis cœnobii abbas, nomine Teobaldus, electus præfatæ ecclesiæ archipræsul, a supradicto Alberico consecratus est. Election of Theobald abbot of Bec to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In eodem autem concilio depositus est abbas de Cruland, et prior ecclesiæ sancti Albani martyris, nomine Godefridus, in loco ejus[4] restitutus, et abbatiæ quæ est juxta Hastingas, quæ dicitur Ad Bellum, abbas nomine Adam[5] electus est: quos utrosque præ- Monastic affairs.

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[1] *Victrico Rotomagensi archiepiscopo*, om. Gerv.

[2] *sive torturam . . facere*, omitted by Gervase.

[3] The wording of this canon in Gervase is very different, and supplies a correction, *regendas*, for *legendas*.

[4] Twysden reads *et alter in loco ejus*, but *et alter* is underlined, as words are underlined elsewhere in this MS. for omission. This changes the testimony of the MS. on a point of some little interest. John of Hexham in summarising this passage represents prior Godfrey as the successor of the deposed abbot of Croyland; but, in either case, *institutus* seems necessary in place of *restitutus*.

[5] This should be Walter de Lucy.

A.D. 1138. dictus Albericus benedixit. Invitavit quoque omnes episcopos et abbates plurimos Angliæ ad generale concilium, quod dominus papa Innocentius ad medium Quadragesimæ Romæ celebraturus erat.

Efforts of the legate to restore peace with Scotland.

Dum autem hæc agerentur, de pace reformanda inter duos reges sæpissime ac diligentissime cum pluribus, et maxime cum regina Angliæ, tractavit. Postquam vero ipsius reginæ mentem ad hanc rem perficiendam valde esse accensam intellexit, ipsa mediante, ac feminea calliditate atque protervitate instante, ipsum regem crebro de eadem re interpellavit, quem primo durum et quasi hanc reconciliationem aspernentem invenerunt. Quippe plures de baronibus suis, quibus ex discordia eorum gravia dampna contigerant, sollicite ei persuaserant, ut nullo modo pacem cum rege Scottiæ faceret, immo se viriliter de illo vindicaret: verumptamen feminei pectoris ardor vinci nescius, quibuscumque potuit modis nocte ac die stimulando non destitit, donec regium animum ad suam voluntatem detorsit. Namque avunculum suum David regem Scottiæ, et Henricum, filium ejus atque suum cognatum, vehementer amavit, ac ideo tantopere marito suo regi Angliæ eos pacificare curavit. Præfatus itaque legatus ubi rem eo modo procedere vidit, audacius regem convenit de illa meliore spe concepta, ac de[1] ceteris causis suis se intromisit.

A.D. 1139.

The legate and certain English prelates proceed to Rome, after Jan. 13, to

Anno igitur MCXXXIX., perfectis negotiis suis in Anglia, sæpedictus legatus mox post octabas Epiphaniæ cum suis ad mare reversus transfretavit. Nam ad prædictum concilium domini papæ tempore congruo pervenire properavit. Teobaldus quoque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et [2] Rofensis, et Simon Wigornensis, Rogerus Coventrensis, Robertus Execestrensis, isti V. episcopi, et cum illis iiij. abbates, pro omnibus episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ ad idem concilium iverunt. Namque rex S[tephanus] propter turbationem regni sui, quæ gravis tunc imminebat, plures illuc mittere noluit. Præterea bonæ memoriæ Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et propter concilium, et propter quædam alia privata negotia, quæ per illum facere disponebat, Ricardum, abbatem de Fontibus, eximiæ virtutis virum, de quo superius mentionem fecimus, illuc direxit. Namque, sicut vulgo dicitur,[1] de sede sua seipsum deponere, et germanum fratrem suum Audoenum nomine, Ebroicensem episcopum, pro se archiepiscopum Eboraci constituere cogitaverat Sed interim dum hæc parabantur, et nuncius ejus infectis negotiis Romæ defunctus est, et frater ipsius, sumpto ante mortem suam religioso habitu canonicorum apud Meretun, ibidem de hac vita migravit. Verum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum suo pallio, et prædicti episcopi et abbates, finito concilio et confectis negotiis suis, sani et incolumes redierunt.

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[1] See p. 159, note 2.

[2] Twysden inserts *Earnulfus*, which is not in the MS., a blank being left for the name.

A.D. 1139. — attend the second Lateran Council.

fo. 47.

Mox autem postquam sæpenominatus legatus ab Anglia discessit, intercurrentibus nuntiis inter duos reges pax facta est hoc modo. S[tephanus] rex Angliæ, cum omnibus terris suis quas ante habebat, Henrico filio David regis Scottiæ comitatum Northumbriæ, exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello et Bahanburg, concessit; hæc enim in manu sua retinuit. Sed pro ipsis oppidis quantum urbes eorum valebant, in Suthanglia illi dare debebat. Præcepit quoque ut barones qui de comitatu tenebant, quicunque vellent, de consule[2] Henrico terras suas recognoscerent, et salva fidelitate quam ei juraverant, illi homagia facerent. Quod et plerique fecerunt. Rex

Terms of peace with Scotland.

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[1] *d^r* in MS. Twysden writes *dicebatur*, which is incorrect and also destroys the sense of contemporaneous testimony.

[2] *consule*, MS.

A.D. 1139.

autem Scottiæ et Henricus filius ejus, cum omnibus suis, extunc quamdiu viverent S[tephano] regi Angliæ per omnia pacifici et fidelissimi existere debebant.[1] Et ut de fidelitate eorum securior esset, filium Cospatrici comitis, et filium Hugonis de Morvilla, et filium Fergusi comitis, et filium Meł et filium Macꝰ, scilicet duorum[2] comitum de Scottia, ei obsides dare debebant. Leges quoque, et consuetudines et statuta, quæ rex Henricus avunculus ejus in comitatu Northumbriæ statuerat, per omnia ibi inviolabiliter[3] custodire debebant. Hæc autem concordia ab Henrico filio regis Scottiæ et ab eorum baronibus, coram Matilde regina Angliæ et multis comitibus et baronibus de Suthanglia, v. idus Aprilis, Dunelmi confirmata est. Hoc quoque diligenter distinctum est, quod Henricus comes, neque super terram sancti Cuthberti, neque super terram sancti Andreæ de Hestaldashamscyre, quia ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensem pertinebat, ullum jus habere debebat. Deinde cum regina ad curiam regis S[tephani] profectus, apud Notingaham eum invenit, confirmatisque ab illo, quæ apud Dunelmum fecerant, per totam æstatem in Suthanglia demorans, et curiam regis frequentans, in servicio ejus magnas impensas fecit.

Conclusion of peace on April 9.

Ratification of the peace at Nottingham.

Eodem anno Walterus de Gant, sumpto habitu monachili apud Barthanaiam, et Robertus de Ferrers, qui fuit comes de Derbia scyra, defuncti sunt.

Explicit bellum Standardii.

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[1] *debebant* interlined.

[2] The MS. reads *duorum*. Twysden alters to *quinque* without authority.

[3] *inviolabiliter*, MS.

RELATIO VENERABILIS AELREDI, ABBATIS RIEVALLENSIS, DE STANDARDO.

INCIPIT RELATIO VENERABILIS AELREDI, ABBATIS RIEVALLENSIS, DE STANDARDO.

fo. 196.

A.D. 1138.

David, king of Scotland, invades the north of England.

Rege igitur Stephano circa australes partes occupato,[1] rex Scottorum innumerabilem coegit exercitum, non solum eos, qui ejus subjacebant imperio, sed et de insulanis et Orchadensibus non parvam multitudinem accersiens. Qui cum maxima superbia et ferocitate progrediens, omnem borealis Angliæ partem aut sibi subdere, aut cæde incendioque depopulari proposuit. Non latuit proceres Transhumbranos ejus adventus, qui hortatu maxime Walteri Espec,[2] de quo postea dicemus, in unum convenientes, ejus conatui resistere decreverunt. Igitur parvum quidem numero, sed armis et viribus robustissimum, exercitum adunarunt, regiumque signum, quod vulgo *Standard* dicitur,

The northern barons prepare to resist.

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[1] The title and opening words in P., the Cambridge MS., run, "*Incipit descriptio viri venerabilis Aethelredi abbatis Rievallis de bello inter regem Scottiæ et barones Angliæ apud Standardium, juxta Alvertoniam. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis* M°C°XXX°VIII.° *rege Stephano circa partes australes occupato.*" The far more corrupt Cottonian copy (C.) gives the opening passage thus: "*Anno Domini* M°C°XXX°8°, xj. *kl. Septembris ac etiam anno Thurstini archiepiscopi* xx°iij°."

The age and authority of E., the Rievaulx copy, written about A.D. 1200, cause the variations of P. to have little interest, though the latter MS. conceivably represents an independent reading of the author's rough draft. All are therefore not given, especially as Twysden's edition excellently represents this copy.

C. is grossly inaccurate, but as there is some interest in the *interpolations*, these are given so far as they are not simply derived from Henry of Huntingdon. It is a 15th century copy.

[2] *hortatu et summonitione T. archiepiscopi et Walteri Espec*, in a different hand and on an erasure, P.

A.D. 1138.

Archbishop Thurstan exhorts the English to rise against the invader.

in campo latissimo juxta Alvertonam constituentes,[1] illic hostes excipere decreverunt.[2] Sed et Thurstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus per totam diocesim suam edictum episcopale proposuit ut, de singulis parochiis suis presbyteris cum cruce et vexillis reliquiisque sanctorum præeuntibus, omnes qui possent ad bella procedere, ad proceres properarent,[3] ecclesiam Christi contra barbaros defensuri. Erant itaque in australi exercitu primi principes[4] Willelmus comes Albemarlensis,[5] juvenis tunc strenuissimus et in armis multum exercitatus, habens secum, tam de Morinis quam de Ponciis, milites plurimos non minus astutia militari quam animi virtute præstantes.[6] Walterus quoque de Gant, morti jam ultima senectute vicinus, vir mansuetus et pius, qui et ipse validissimam manum de Flandrensibus et Normannis adducens, tam sapientia quam pondere sermonum reliquam multitudinem plurimum animavit. Ilbertus sane de Laci non segnis nec cum paucis advolavit, qui tempore regis Henrici exulans, quanto fuerat laboribus ærumpnisque assuefactus, tanto stabat in hac necessitate securus. Sed et Robertus de Brus, licet regem Scotiæ plurimum dilexisset, gentibus tamen suis in hac necessitate[7] non defuit, qui cum optimo juvene filio suo Adam tam validam manum *fo.* 196. *b.* adduxit, ut non solum viribus, sed et decore simul ac juventute, omnem multitudinem plurimum decorarent. Tantus autem fervor resistendi Scottis cunctos arri-

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[1] *Standerd, in campo latissimo, scilicet super Cottwen more juxta Nothaldertonam, constituens*, C.

[2] The passage which follows stands thus in C.:—*Ipse autem Thurstanus fieri jussit in viis subterraniis quædam instrumenta sonos horribiles reddentia, quæ Anglice dicuntur* Potrontes, *quibus resonantibus fere et cetera armamenta, quæ præcedebant exercitum prædicti David regis, timore strepitus perterrita, in exercitum regis David ferociter resiliebant. Sed et Thurstinus*, &c.

[3] *properassent*, E. P.

[4] Having been begun with these words, the passages which follow should be correlated as far as *plurimum decorarent*; but the structure is utterly broken up.

[5] *Albem̃.*, E.

[6] *p̃rantes*, E.; *præstantes*, P.

[7] *parte* altered to *necessitate*, E.

A.D. 1138.

puit ut etiam Rogerum[1] de Mulbrai, adhuc puerulum,[2] exercitui interesse fecissent, tam decenter tamen ut tali ætati conveniebat, inter ceteros sapientissime collocatum.[3] Cum quo universa terræ suæ militia, quæ profecto nec sapientia nec virtute nec numero ceteris videbatur inferior, cum tanta devotione convenit, ut minor ætas domini sui nullum exercitui videretur afferre dispendium. Affuit et Walterus Espec, vir senex et plenus dierum, acer ingenio, in consiliis prudens, in pace modestus, in bello providus; amicitiam sociis, fidem semper regibus servans. Erat ei statura ingens, membra omnia tantæ magnitudinis, ut nec modum excederent et tantæ proceritati congruerent.[4] Capilli nigri, barba prolixa, frons patens et libera, oculi grandes et perspicaces, facies amplissima, tracticia[5] tamen, vox tubæ similis; facundiam, quæ ei facilis erat, quadam soni majestate componens. Erat præterea nobilis carne, sed Christiana pietate longe nobilior. Nempe cum liberis careret hæredibus, licet ei nepotes strenui non deessent, de optimis tamen quibusque possessionibus suis Christum fecit hæredem. Nam in loco amœnissimo, Kirkeham[6] nomine, monasterium regularium condidit clericorum, multis illud donariis ornans et ditans possessionibus: insuper et palatia sua, thalamos suos, cellaria sua, in servorum Christi habitacula commutans. Cisterciensem quoque ordinem, cujus vix famam audierat Anglia, favente sibi glorioso rege Henrico, in has partes advexit, suscipiens fratres de nobilissimo monasterio Clarevallis per manum sancti ac Deo dilecti[7] abbatis Bernardi. Qui venientes in Angliam, anno ab incarnatione Do-

Character and acts of Walter Espec.

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[1] *Rogerus* (sic), E.

[2] *puerulus* (sic), E.; *puerulum*, P.

[3] *collocant*, E.; *collocatum*, P.

[4] *convenirent* with *vel congruerent* interlined above, E. Probably this expresses the transcriber's doubt as to the word in the author's rough copy. P. reads *congruerent*.

[5] Thus in E. and P.

[6] *Kircham*, P.; *Kylham*, C.

[7] C. has the reading *sancti ac Deo dilecti*; P. omits *sancti*, but retains *ac*.

A.D. 1138. mini M^oC^oXXX^oII^o, nacti locum in valle profundissima super ripam Riæ fluminis, unde ipsum monasterium Rievallis nomen accepit, multos suæ religionis fama ad optimorum studiorum æmulationem incitaverunt: unde in brevi multiplicati super numerum, plurima in utroque regno, Angliæ scilicet et Scotiæ, cœnobia condiderunt. Nam prædictus Walterus necdum tantis satiatus beneficiis, in territorio Wardunensi famosissimum per eosdem fratres fundavit monasterium. Porro secundo[1] anno adventus eorum in Angliam quidam monachi de ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Eboracensi Cisterciensem puritatem et paupertatem zelantes, auxilio freti venerabilis Turstini archiepiscopi, relinquentes divitias et delicias monasticæ puritati contrarias, in maxima paupertate, miro fervore[2] Fontanense cœnobium creaverunt. Deinde prædictorum se fratrum ordini plenius conjungentes, plurima[3] et ipsi per insulam[4] monasteria fundaverunt. Waverlenses quoque fratres, qui hactenus quasi in angulo latuerant, cognito quod ejusdem essent ordinis, Cisterciensium monasteriorum numerum auxerunt. Ita alii ab ipsis Rievallensibus procreati, alii eorum exemplo provocati, multis cœnobiis clariorem insulam reddiderunt. Unde non inmerito cœnobium Rievallense cetera,[5] quæ in Anglia sunt ejusdem ordinis, fama et religione præcellit. Hæc autem omnia bona quis dubitet viro illi strenuissimo ascribenda, qui[6] tantorum fructuum semen de procul advexit, et locum in quo seminaretur invenit? Hic igitur, cum ab universo[7] exercitu, tum propter ætatem, tum propter sapientiam, patris more coleretur, ascendens machinam quam circa regium

Religious houses founded by Walter Espec.

fo. 197.

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[1] *secundo anno*, C. E.; *eodem*, on an erasure, P.

[2] The date, vj. *kal. Januarii*, which is in P. only, follows here, interlined.

[3] *plurima*, C. E.; *plura*, P.

[4] *Britannicam nobilia* follows here in P. only.

[5] *ceteris*, E. P. C.

[6] *qui*, E. C.

[7] *cum ab alio universo*, E.; P. now reads *cum ab*.

A.D. 1138.

His exhortation to the English host.

signum[1] fabricaverant, supereminens universo populo ab humero et sursum, hac oratione dejectos quadam formidine animos erexit, promptos acrius inflammavit. "Non inutile est," inquit, "viri fortissimi, si senem "juvenes audiatis; me dico, qui multorum temporum "vicissitudine, mutatione regum, et diversis bellorum "eventibus didici et præterita revolvere, et æstimare "præsentia, et secundum præterita de præsentibus, "secundum præsentia de futuris capere conjecturam. "Et certe si omnes, qui me audiunt, saperent et intel-"ligerent, et ea quæ nobis hodie ventura sunt præ-"viderent, silerem libentius et sompno meo requiesce-"rem, vel luderem aleis, aut confligerem scaccis, vel "si ea ætati meæ minus congruerent, legendis historiis "operam darem, vel more meo veterum gesta narranti "aurem attentius commodarem. Nunc autem video "plerosque de prœlio certos, incertos de victoria, "fluctuare animo, timere vehementer ne paucitatem "nostram immensæ copiæ Scottorum absorbeant; cum "non ex multitudine victoria pendeat, vel viribus[2] "adquiratur, sed[3] justis votis causaque honesta ab "Omnipotente impetretur. Ego sane considerans qua "ratione, qua causa, qua necessitate, qui adversus "quos hodie dimicamus, sto intrepidus, tam securus "de victoria quam de prœlio certus. Cur enim de "victoria desperemus, cum victoria generi nostro "quasi in feudum data sit ab Altissimo? Nonne "proavi nostri maximam Galliæ portionem cum paucis "invasere militibus, et ab ea cum gente etiam ipsum "Galliæ nomen eraserunt. Quotiens ab eis Francorum "est fusus exercitus; quotiens a Cenomanensibus, "Andegavensibus, Aquitanensibus, pauci de multis,

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[1] The absurd drawings, which Twysden here inserts from P., are no doubt efforts of imagination on the part of the transcriber of the Cambridge copy. E. has nothing of the kind, nor has C.

[2] *vel viribus*, E.; *sed ut viribus*, C.; *sed vel viribus*, P.

[3] *sed*, E.; *vel*, C. P.

A.D. 1138.

Exhortation addressed by Walter Espec to the English army.

" victoriam reportarunt? Certe patres nostri et nos " hanc insulam, quam quondam victoriosissimus Julius, " non sine multa suorum strage, post multos annos " vix tandem optinuit, in brevi edomuimus, in brevi " nostris subdidimus legibus, nostris obsequiis mancipavimus. Vidimus, vidimus oculis nostris, regem " Franciæ cum universo suo exercitu nobis terga " vertentem, optimos quosque regni ejus proceres a " nobis captos, alios redimi, alios mancipari vinculis, " alios carcere condempnari. Quis Apuliam,[1] Siciliam, " Calabriam, nisi vester[2] Normannus edomuit? Nonne " uterque Imperator eadem die, eadem fere hora, terga " vertit Normannis, cum alter adversus patrem, alter " adversus filium dimicaret?[3] Quis igitur non rideat, " potius quam timeat, quod adversus tales vilis Scottus seminudis natibus pugnaturus occurrit? Isti " sunt, isti sunt utique qui non resistendum nobis " quondam sed cedendum putarunt, cum Angliæ victor " Willelmus Laodoniam, Calatriam, Scotiam usque ad " Abernith[4] penetraret, ubi bellicosus ille Malcolmus " deditione factus est noster; et nunc victores suos, " dominos suos[5] bello provocant; lanceis nostris, gladiis et telis[6] nostris nudum obiciunt corium; pelle " vitulina pro scuto utentes; irrationabili mortis contemptu, magis quam viribus animati. Quid ergo " hastarum illarum, quas eminus intuemur, nimia longitudo nos terret? Sed lignum fragile est, ferrum " obtunsum,[7] dum ferit perit, dum impingitur frangitur, vix ad unum ictum sufficiens. Excipe illud " saltem baculo, et inermis Scottus astabit. An multitudinem expavescimus? Sed quanto vincendorum " major numerus, tanto vincentibus gloria major.

fo. 197. b.

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[1] Cf. Huntingdon's version of the bishop of Orkney's address.

[2] *vester*, P. as well as E.

[3] W. of Newburgh, i., 429, also tells this erroneous story.

[4] *Habernidh*, C.

[5] *dominos suos*, C. E.

[6] *gladiis et telis*, E.; *gladiis nostris, telis nostris*, C. P.

[7] Thus in E. and P.

A.D. 1138.

Exhortation addressed by Walter Espec to the English army.

“ Taceo quid de ipso numero sentiam, ne futuræ gloriæ nostræ aliquid detrahere videar. An pro causa diffidimus ? Sed non injustum bellum pro rege nostro suscipimus, qui regnum non, ut hostes calumpniantur, invasit indebitum,[1] sed suscepit oblatum; quem populus petiit, quem clerus elegit, quem unxit pontifex, quem in regnum Apostolica confirmavit auctoritas. Sed, ut interim de rege taceamus, nullus certe justum negabit, quod pro patria arma suscipimus; quod pro uxoribus nostris, pro liberis nostris, pro ecclesiis nostris dimicamus, imminens periculum propulsantes.[2] Urget enim necessitas. Recolite quid in Transtinanis partibus egerint, nec mitiora sperate si vicerint Scotti. Taceo cædes, rapinas, incendia, quæ humano quodammodo more exercentur ab hostibus: talia dicam, qualia nec fabulæ ferunt, nec narrant historiæ a crudelissimis acta tyrannis. Dicam, inquam, si non præ nimio horrore sermo defecerit, aut auditor aufugerit. Nulli ætati, nulli ordini, nulli omnino sexui pepercerunt; nobiles, tam pueri quam puellæ, ducti sunt in captivitatem; pudica matrimonia incredibili libidine vexata sunt; parvuli jactati in aera, et aculeis lancearum excepti, delectabile spectaculum Galwensibus præbuerunt; prægnans mulier per medium secabatur, tener fœtus, extractus ab utero, impia manu ad saxum allidebatur. Lassati innocentium cæde, illotis cultellis, quibus miserorum effuderant viscera, carnes quas vorarent incidebant; humanumque sanguinem miscentes aqua, crudeli poculo sitim sedabant, dicentes se felicissimos quos in illud tempus fortuna servaverat, quo Gallorum sanguinem bibere potuissent. Casu inventi sunt in eadem domo plures

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[1] *indebitum*, C. E.; *debitum*, absurdly, P.

[2] *dimicamus — propulsantes*, E.; *dimicantes — propulsamus*, P.

A.D. 1138.

Exhortation addressed by Walter Espec to the English army.

“ parvuli. Stabat Galwensis, et unum post unum utroque pede arripiens, caput allidebat ad postem. *fo.* 198. Quos cum in unum coegisset acervum, ridens versus socium, ‘Ecce,’ inquit, ‘quot Gallos hodie solus occidi.’ Horreo dicere quomodo ingressi sunt templum Dei, quomodo polluerunt sanctuarium ejus, quomodo salutis Christianæ sacramenta pedibus conculcaverunt. Quid agitis, o viri fortissimi? Non adversus homines dimicatis sed adversus bestias, quibus nihil humanitatis, nihil inest pietatis; quos cœlum horret, quos abominatur terra, quos execrantur maria, quos ipsa mundi lumina detestantur; quos non ob aliud terra non absorbuit, non[1] fulminavit cœlum, non[1] maria submerserunt, nisi ut vestris victoriis servarentur, vestris manibus interirent. Consecrate manus vestras in sanguine peccatorum: felices quorum hodie manus ad suas ulciscendas injurias Christus elegit. Festinate, et nefandum hoc genus[2] hominum terris obruite, inferis sepelite, ne, si diutius vixerint, sol lumen abscondat, cœlum neget pluvias, fruges quadam ariditate marcescant. Cogitate regem absentem, quantumque vestræ accedet[3] gloriæ, cum reportaveritis de rege sine rege triumphum. Vestra erit curia, vestrum erit regnum, vestris consiliis omnia tractabuntur, per quos hodie regi regnum, regno pax, paci gloria perquiretur: fatebitur rex se hodie manibus vestris iterum coronatum. Secure igitur congrediamur, cum nobis sit causa justior, manus fortior; quos urget necessitas, quos gloria provocat, quibus divinum auxilium præsto est, cum quibus tota cœlestis curia dimicabit. Aderit Michael cum angelis suam ulturus injuriam, cujus ecclesiam humano sanguine fœdaverunt, cujus altare superposito capite humano polluerunt. Petrus cum

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[1] *non*, in each place, C. E. and P.

[2] *hoc sanguinum hominum genus*, P.; *hoc hominum genus*, C.

[3] *accedet*, C. E.; *accedat*, P.

Exhortation addressed by Walter Espec to the English army.

" Apostolis pugnabit pro nobis,[1] quorum basilicas " nunc in stabulum, nunc in prostibulum converte-" runt. Sancti martyres nostra[2] præcedent agmina, " quorum incenderunt memorias, quorum atria[3] cædi-" bus impleverunt. Virgines sanctæ licet pugnæ du-" bitent interesse, pro nobis tamen oratione pugnabunt. " Amplius dico, ipse Christus apprehendet arma et " scutum, et exurget in adjutorium nobis. Ipsi enim " veniunt ad nos in superbia; nos cum humilitate " procedimus. Illi carnes raptas quas voraverunt " eructant; nos post sacra jejunia Christi carne et " sanguine saginamur. Illos histriones, saltatores et " saltatrices, nos crux Christi et reliquiæ Sanctorum " antecedunt. Sed quid moror? Certe aut vincen-" dum nobis est, aut moriendum. Quis enim victoriæ " Scottorum se velit esse superstitem, ut videat uxo-" rem suam Scottorum subjacere libidini, parvulos " suos lanceis perforari?"

The English decide to fight on foot.

Hæc dicens vertit se ad comitem Albemarlensem, dataque dextera, "Do," inquit, "fidem quia hodie aut " vincam Scottos, aut occidar a Scottis." Quo similiter voto cuncti se proceres constrinxerunt. Et ut spes fugæ cunctis penitus tolleretur, equos omnes longius amoventes, pedestri more congredi decreverunt, aut mori aut vincere cupientes.

The men of Galloway claim to form the front rank of the Scottish army.

fo. 198. b. Rex interim, coactis in unum comitibus optimisque regni sui proceribus, cœpit cum eis de belli ratione tractare; placuitque plurimis, ut quotquot aderant armati milites et sagittarii cunctum præirent exercitum, quatinus armati armatos impeterent, milites congrederentur militibus, sagittæ sagittis obviarent. Restitere Galwenses, dicentes sui esse juris primam construere aciem, primum in hostes impetum dare, sua probitate reliquum animare exercitum. Periculosum dicebant

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[1] *nobis*, C. E.; *vobis*, P.

[2] *nostra* in E. and P.

[3] *atria*, C. E.; *ala*, P.

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alii; si primo[1] aggressu inermes armatis occurrerent, quoniam si belli vim non sustinens, primus cuneus laberetur in fugam, etiam fortium corda facile solverentur: Galwenses nichilominus insistebant, jus suum sibi concedi postulantes.

Allusion to the battle at Clitheroe.

"Quid enim," inquiunt, "o rex, formidas, et tunicas "illas ferreas, quas eminus cernis, nimium expavescis? "Nobis certe sunt latera ferrea, pectus æreum, mens "timoris vacua, quorum nec pedes fugam, nec umquam vulnus terga sensere. Quid Gallis apud Cliderhau[2] profuere loricæ? Nunquid non inermes "isti, ut dicunt, illos et loricas proicere et negligere "galeas et scuta relinquere coegerunt? Videat igitur "prudentia vestra, o rex, quale sit in his habere "fiduciam, quæ in necessitate magis sunt oneri quam "consolationi. Nos apud Cliderhou de loricatis victoriam reportavimus: nos hodie et istos, animi virtute "pro scuto utentes, lanceis prosternemus."

His dictis, cum rex militum magis consiliis adquiescere videretur, Malisse comes Stradarnæ[3] plurimum indignatus, "Quid est," inquit, "o rex, quod Gallorum "te magis committis voluntati, cum nullus eorum cum "armis suis me inermem sit hodie præcessurus in "bello?" Quæ verba Alanus de Perci, magni Alani filius nothus, miles strenuissimus et in militaribus negotiis probatissimus, ægre ferens, conversus ad comitem, "Grande," inquit, "verbum locutus es, et quod "hodie pro vita tua efficere non valebis." Tunc rex utrosque compescens, ne tumultus hac altercatione subito nasceretur, Galwensium cessit voluntati.

Composition and arrangement of the Scotch army.

Alteram aciem filius regis et milites sagittariique cum eo, adjunctis sibi Cumbrensibus et Tevidalensibus, cum magna sagacitate constituit. Erat autem adolescens pulchra facie, et decorus aspectu, tantæ humilitatis ut

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[1] *si primo*, E.; *si in primo*, C. P.

[2] *Cliderhau* here, but *Cliderhou* below in E. See John of Hexham, Rolls ed., p. 291.

[3] *Stradarne*, E.; *Stradarniæ*, P.

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omnibus inferior videretur, tantæ auctoritatis ut ab omnibus timeretur; tam dulcis, tam[1] amabilis, tam affabilis, ut diligeretur ab omnibus; tam castus corpore, in sermone tam sobrius, in cunctis moribus tam honestus, tam assiduus in ecclesia, orationi tam intentus, tam benivolus circa pauperes, contra malefactores tam erectus, sacerdotibus et monachis sic prostratus, ut et in rege monachum et in monacho regem prætendere videretur. Erat præterea tantæ probitatis, ut in illo exercitu nullus fuerit similis illi[2] sive hostes impetendo, sive impetentes magnanimiter sustinendo, ceteris ad insequendum fortior, ad repellendum acrior, ad fugam tardior. Conjunxerat se ei, ejusque interfuit aciei, Eustachius filius Johannis, de magnis proceribus Angliæ regi quondam Henrico familiarissimus, vir summæ prudentiæ et in secularibus negotiis magni consilii, qui a rege Anglorum ideo recesserat, quod ab eo in curia contra morem patrium captus, castra, quæ ei rex Henricus commiserat, reddere compulsus est; ob quam causam offensus, ut illatam sibi ulcisceretur injuriam, ad hostes ejus sese contulerat. Tercium cuneum Laodonenses cum insulanis et Lavernanis fecerunt. Rex in sua acie Scottos et Muravenses retinuit; nonnullos etiam de militibus Anglis et Francis ad sui corporis custodiam deputavit. Et sic quidem aquilonalis ordinatur exercitus. At[3] australes, quoniam pauci erant, in unum cuneum sapientissime glomerantur. Nam strenuissimi milites in prima fronte locati lancearios et sagittarios ita sibi inseruerunt, ut militaribus armis protecti, tanto acrius quanto securius vel in hostes irruerent, vel exciperent irruentes. At proceres, qui maturioris ætatis fuerunt, ut ceteris præsidio forent, circa signum regium constituuntur, quibusdam altius ceteris in ipsa machina

fo. 199.

Conduct of Stephen towards Eustace FitzJohn.

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[1] *timeretur; tam dulcis tam*, on erasure, E.

[2] *illi*, C. E.; *ei*, P.

[3] *At*, E.; *Et*, P.

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collatis. Scutis scuta junguntur, lateribus latera conseruntur, laxatis vexillis eriguntur lanceæ, ad solis splendorem loricæ candescunt; sacerdotes sacris vestibus candidati, cum crucibus et reliquiis[1] Sanctorum, exercitum ambiebant, et sermone simul et oratione populum decentissime roborabant. Tunc Robertus de Brus, vir grandævus et magnarum opum, moribus gravis, sermone rarus, qui cum dignitate quadam et pondere loquebatur, qui, cum esset de jure regis Anglorum, a juventute tamen regi Scotiæ adhærens, ad maximam ejus familiaritatem profecerat. Ipse igitur, ut vir veteranæ militiæ et talium negotiorum satis gnarus, naturali sagacitate periculum quod regi imminebat prospiciens, antiquæ amicitiæ intuitu, accepta a sociis licentia, regem adiit, aut bellum dissuasurus, aut ab eo more patrio legitime recessurus. Erat enim obligatus ei non solum amicitia, sed et fidei necessitate. Cum igitur regem cominus aspexisset:

Robert de Bruce makes an effort to avert the combat.

"Assum," inquit, "o rex, fidelis tuus, daturus nunc "consilium tibi honorabile, regnoque[2] tuo utile, liberis "tuis in posterum profuturum. Non enim sapientis "est, o rex, rerum tantum initia, non[3] etiam exitus "finesque prospicere, et pro solis præsentibus præteri"torum memoriam vel[4] futurorum providentiam "abolere. Adversum quos hodie levas arma, et im"mensum hunc[5] ducis exercitum? Adversum Anglos "certe et Normannos. O rex, nonne isti sunt quorum "semper et utile consilium et auxilium promptum, "gratum insuper obsequium, invenisti? ex quo rogo "te, domine mi, tantam fidem invenisti in Scottis, "ut tam secure tibi tuisque Anglorum demas consi"lium, auxilium abroges Normannorum, quasi soli "tibi sufficiant Scotti etiam contra Scottos. Nova fo. 199. b. "tibi est in Galwensibus[1] ista securitas, qui eos hodie armis petis per quos hactenus amabilis Scottis, terribilis Galwensibus, imperasti. Putasne igitur, o rex, quod æquis oculis aspiciet cœlestis illa Majestas, quod illos insistis absumere per quos tibi tuisque[2] regnum procuratum est,[3] et securitas in regno? Quibus copiis quibusve auxiliis frater tuus Dunecanus Douenaldi[4] prostravit exercitum, et regnum quod invaserat tyrannus recepit? Quis Ædgarum[5] fratrem tuum, immo plusquam fratrem, nisi noster exercitus regno restituit? Tu ipse rex cum portionem regni, quam idem tibi frater moriens delegaverat,[6] a fratre Alexandro reposceres, nostro certe terrore quidquid volueras sine sanguine impetrasti. Recole præterito anno cum adversus Malcolmum, paterni odii et persecutionis hæredem, Anglorum auxilium flagitares, quam læti, quam alacres, quam ad auxilium prompti, quam proni ad periculum Walterus Espec aliique quamplures Anglorum proceres tibi apud Carleolum occurrerint, quot paraverint naves, quæ arma intulerint, qua juventute munierint, quomodo omnes tuos terruerint hostes, donec ipsum Malcolmum proditum[7] caperent, captum vincirent, vinctum traderent. Ita terror noster ipsius quidem membra, sed magis Scottorum animos, vinxit, omnique spe præficiendi frustrata, audaciam abstulit rebellandi. Quicquid igitur odii, quicquid inimicitiarum adversum nos habent Scotti, tui tuorumque est causa, pro quibus contra eos totiens dimicavimus, quibus ademimus spem A.D. 1138.

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[1] *et reliquiis*, E.; *reliquiisque*, C. P.

[2] *regnoque*, E.; *regno*, C. P.

[3] *non*, E. P.; *verum*, C.

[4] *vel*, C. P.; om. E.

[5] *immensum hunc*, E.; *hunc innumerum*, C. P.

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[1] *Galwensibus,* C. E.; *Walensibus,* P.

[2] *tuisque,* C. E.; *tuis,* P.

[3] *procuratum est,* E.; *procreatus (sic) est,* C.; *procuratur,* P.

[4] *Douenaldi,* E.

[5] *Eadgarum,* C. P.

[6] *delegaverat,* E., *delegavit,* P.

[7] *proderent proditum,* the former word expuncted, E.

A.D. 1138. “ rebellandi, [quos] tibi et tuæ per omnia subdidimus
“ voluntati. Rideant proinde Scotti, quod tu eis de
“ nobis ultionem procuras, cum nihil aliud habeant
“ quod ulciscantur in nobis,[1] nisi quod te tuosque
“ dileximus, tibi tuisque fidem servavimus, quod armis
“ nostris, scutis nostris, ipsis etiam corporibus nostris
“ tua proteximus viscera, tibi regnum servavimus.
“ Parce itaque, o rex, parce tibi, parce regno tuo,
“ parce præ omnibus juvenum splendidissimo filio tuo,
“ quem[2] hodie nudatum consilio et cunctis auxiliis
“ spoliatum proditioni Scottorum exponis et objicis
“ furori. Cave præterea ne involvaris peccatis hominum
“ impiorum, de quorum manibus cædes parvulorum,
“ prægnantium luctus, sacerdotum injuria, ipsius
“ etiam Divinitatis contemptus exquiritur; adversus
“ quos non unius Abel, sed innumerabilium innocentium
“ sanguis clamat de terra. Vidisti, o rex, abominationes
“ pessimas, quas fecerunt hii. Vidisti, inquam,
“ vidisti, horruisti, flevisti, pectus tutudisti, clamasti
“ contra tuum id fieri præceptum, contra tuam voluntatem,
“ contra tuum decretum. Ostende nunc vera
“ te dixisse, ut eos a simili revoces iniquitate, ut
“ reversi sine te puniantur si sine te talia commiserint.
“ Et hæc satis essent si conatui tuo nullus obsisteret,
“ vel de victoria certitudo constaret. Nunc autem stat
“ contra te non contempnendus exercitus, quanto tuo
“ numero minor, tanto armis viribusque robustior.
“ Nescis, o rex, quam sit periculosa desperatio, quando *fo.* 200.
“ et mors certa est, sed stat adhuc de genere mortis
“ electio. Certe si viceris moriemur. Moriemur, inquam,
“ nos, morientur parvuli nostri; sacerdotes nostri in
“ altaribus jugulabuntur; uxores nostræ turpi libidine
“ fœdabuntur. Elegimus proinde vel vincere vel mori

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[1] sic, MS.

[2] *quem*, C. E.; *cui*, P.

A.D. 1138.

" gloriose, quamvis nulla nobis sit de victoria dubitatio. Hinc dolor meus, hinc lacrimæ, quod dulcissimum dominum meum, amantissimum amicum meum, antiquum socium meum, in cujus amicitia senui, cujus munificentiam in munerum multimodorum largitione, in prædiorum quoque et multarum possessionum collatione expertus sum, post juveniles ludos quibus simul exercitati sumus, post armorum negotia quibus nobis in multis periculis semper affuimus, post splendida convivia quæ utrique unius regnum ministravit, post delicias quas utrisque avium ferarumque contulit venatio, aut mori periculose aut indecenter fugere contemplabor."

His dictis lacrimis et singultibus interceptus est sermo loquentis. Et rex naturali pietate commotus in lacrimas solvebatur, jam jamque ibat in pactum. Sed Willelmus regius[1] nepos, vir magni animi et belli præcipuus incentor, superveniens, ipsum Robertum cum maximo furore arguit proditionis, regemque a sententia flexit. At ille nichil moratus, vinculum fidei, quo eatenus regi astrictus fuerat, patrio more dissolvens, ad suos non sine magno[2] dolore revertitur; et statim soluta statione erectis lanceis aquilonalis procedit exercitus. Sequitur lituum[3] stridor tubarum crepitus, fragor lancearum percutientium alteram ad alteram; tremit terra, fremit cœlum, echo[4] vicini montes collesque resultant.[5] Interea episcopus[6] Orchadensis, quem illo miserat archiepiscopus, stans in emi-

ucan. i.
37.

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[1] *Willelmus regius*, C. E.

[2] *magno*, E.; om. C.

[3] *lituorum* (sic), on an erasure, E.

[4] *eccho*, E.

[5] C. proceeds with extracts from Henry of Huntingdon, including the long speech attributed to Ralph Nowell, bishop of Orkney (Rolls edition, pp. 262, 263).

[6] E. does not give his name here.

A.D. 1138. nentiori loco, cum populo prœliandi necessitatem in remissionem peccatorum indixisset, tundentes pectora, erectis manibus divinum auxilium precabantur; factaque super eos absolutione, episcopus benedictionem sollempni voce adjecit, cunctis alta voce respondentibus Amen, Amen. At Galwensium cuneus more suo ter ululatum diræ vocis emittens, tanto impetu irruunt in australes, ut primos lancearios stationem deserere compellerent, sed vi militum iterum repulsi, in hostes animum viresque recipiunt. Ubi vero ferri lignique soliditate Scotticarum lancearum est delusa fragilitas, eductis gladiis cominus decertare temptabant. Sed australes muscæ de cavernis pharetrarum ebullientes, et instar densissimæ pluviæ convolantes, et in obstantium pectora, vultum, oculos quoque importunius irruentes, conatum illorum plurimum retardabant. Videres ut hericium spinis, ita Galwensem sagittis undique circumseptum, nichilominus vibrare gladium, et cæca quadam amentia proruentem nunc hostem cædere, nunc inanem aerem cassis ictibus *fo.* 200. *b.* verberare.[1] Et jamjam percussi pavore extremi quique dissolvebantur in fugam, cum inclitus adolescens filius regis, cum sua superveniens acie, in adversum sibi cornu leonina se feritate[2] proripuit, ipsaque globi australis parte instar cassis araneæ dissipata, obstantes quosque cædendo ultra regium signum progressus est, ratusque reliquum exercitum secutum iri, ut hostibus fugæ præsidium tolleret, equorum stationem invasit dissolvit,[3] dispersit, ac retro usque ad duo stadia redire coegit. Hujus igitur admirabili impetu plebs inermis perterrita labebantur. Sed prudentis[4] cujus-

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[1] C. here inserts the passage, *Percusso igitur a sagitta . . . . et fugæ indulsit* taken from Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls ed. p. 264).

[2] *feritate*, E.; *ferocitate*, P.

[3] *dissolvit*, C. E.; om. P.

[4] *prudentis cujusdam*: this is the order in C. and E.

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dam viri figmento, qui, caput unius occisi in altum erigens, regem clamabat occisum, revocati,[1] vehementius solito irruunt in obstantes. Tunc Galwenses imbrem sagittarum, gladios militum ultra[2] non ferentes,[3] fugam ineunt, occisis prius duobus eorum ducibus Wulgrico[4] et Duuenaldo.[5] Porro Laodensium cuneus, primum vix impetum expectans, statim dissolutus est.[6] Tunc rex equo dissiliens, et proceres qui cum eo erant, adversus hostes processerunt. Sed Scotti ob ceterorum fugam pavidi ex omni[7] parte regalis[8] aciei fugere cœperunt, ita ut in brevi lapsis ceteris vix[9] pauci circa regem persisterent. Procedit contra eos Anglorum exercitus, ipsum certe regem cum omnibus suis vel occisurus vel capturus, nisi milites regem, fugam omnimodis abjurantem, vi sublatum equo regredi compulissent. Tunc hi qui fugerant, videntes regale vexillum, quod ad similitudinem draconis figuratum facile agnoscebatur, reverti, scientes regem non cecidisse sed redire, ad ipsum reversi terribilem insequentibus cuneum creaverunt. Interea ille adolescentum decus, militum gloria, senum deliciæ, filius regis, respiciens retro, vidit se cum paucis in mediis relictum hostibus, vertensque se ad unum de sociis et subridens: "Fecimus," inquit, "quod potuimus, "et certe quantum in nobis est vicimus. Nunc consilio "non minus opus est quam virtute. Nec est aliud "majus animi constantis indicium quam in adversa

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[1] *revocat,* E.; *revocati,* C. P.

[2] *ultra,* E.; *ulterius,* C. P.

[3] *ferentes,* E.; *sustinentes,* C.

[4] *Wulgrico,* E.; *Wlgrico,* P.

[5] *Duuenaldo,* E.

[6] C. here interpolates the following: *Regalis autem acies . . . . solo rege persistente* from Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 264).

[7] *omni parte,* E.; *omni lapsi parte,* P.

[8] *regalis,* C. E.

[9] *vix,* E.; om. C. P.

A.D. 1138. "fortuna non frangi, et quando non potes viribus, "consilio superes inimicum. Projectis itaque signis, "quibus a ceteris dividimur, ipsis nos hostibus inseramus, quasi insequentes cum ipsis, donec prætergressi "cunctos ad paternum cuneum, quem eminus video in "suo vigore manentem cedere necessitati, quamtocius "veniamus." His dictis, sonipedem calcaribus urgens medios intersecat hostes, donec anteriores transgressus, mitiori incessu equum allevat. Et ut noveris quam securum in adversis et providum gesserit[1] animum, ceteris militibus armorum onera ubiubi projicientibus, optimus juvenis laboris patiens sustinuit, donec ad pauperis cujusdam tugurium veniens, evocato pauperculo exuit se thorace,[2] projiciensque ad pedes hominis, "Accipe," inquit, "ut[3] quod mihi est oneri, tuæ consulat "necessitati."[4] At rex jam longe processerat, jam ordinate terribiliter incedens ut, quosdam de insequentibus capiens, ceteros qui instabant plurimum deterreret; sicque ad Carleolum usque perveniens, ibi de se jam securus, sed de filio pavidus, per biduum nil aliud agens expectabat. Tertia tandem die diu desideratum sanum et incolumem filium recepit. Anglorum sane proceres diu insequentes innumerabiles tam Scottos quam[5] Galwenses interfecerunt, de militibus vero multos ceperunt. De singulis autem partibus singuli milites corruerunt. Sane Anglorum duces omnes sani incolumesque reversi, et circa Walterum Espec, quem ducis et patris loco venerabantur, conglobati, inmensas gratias Deo Omnipotenti pro insperata victoria retulerunt.[1] A D. 1138.

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[1] *gesserit*, E. C.

[2] *torace*, E.

[3] The York MS. (E.) ends as a fragment at this point with the words *Accipe, inquit, ut*, not *vir*, as in Twysden. C. also reads *ut*. The remainder of the text is taken from the Cambridge MS.

[4] C. here inserts: *Ad ultimum tamen fugere est compulsus. At rex* . . .

[5] *tam*, P., apparently, but the word has been carelessly altered.

Explicit descriptio Æthelredi abbatis.

---

[1] C. adds: *Hoc bellum mense Augusti factum est* iij° *anno regni regis Stephani apud Cucunemore. Duces Standard fuerunt Willelmus comes Albemerliæ, Walterus Espec, Willelmus Piperellus de Nothyngame, Ilbertus Lacy, cujus frater solus ex omnibus equitibus ibi occisus est.* These words are mainly from Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 264).

CHRONIQUE
DE
JORDAN FANTOSME.

CHRONIQUE DE LA GUERRE ENTRE LES ANGLOIS ET LES ECOSSOIS

EN 1173 ET 1174,

PAR JORDAN FANTOSME.

Oëz[1] veraie estoire (que Deu[2] vus benëie !) *fo.* 138.
Del mieldre curuné qui unkes fust en vie.
Talent m'est pris de faire vers, dreiz est que jo 's[3] vus die:
Celui tieng à sage qui par[4] autre se chastie.
Gentil rei d' Engleterre[5] a la char très hardie,
Al curuner[6] de vostre fiz ne vus suvienge-il mie
Ke l'umage de uost ses meins le rei d'Aubanie[7]
Li feïstes presenter, senz fei aver mentie ?
Puis lur deïstes ambesdous : "Deus les maldie,
"Ki de vus departirad amur ne druërie !
"Encuntre tutes genz del mund, en force e en "aïe,
"Od mun fiz seiez tenant-salve ma seignurie."
Puis entre vus[8] e vostre fiz mortel nasquid[9] envie,
Dunt maint gentil chevalier ad puis[10] perdu la vie,
Maint hume deschevalchié, mainte sele voidie.
Maint bon escu estroé, mainte bruine[11] faillie.

---

[1] The illuminator has neglected to insert the O of Oëz in D., but L. has it.

[2] *verraie . . . Deus*, L.

[3] *Talent me prist de fere un vers . . . je le*, L.

[4] *que par*, L.

[5] *de Engletere*, L.

[6] *Al curunement*, L.

[7] *que le humage de ses meins le rei de Albanie*, L.

[8] *Puis en vos*, L.

[9] *nasqui mortel*, L.

[10] *puis* omitted, L.

[11] *breingne*, L.

CHRONICLE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTCH

IN 1173 AND 1174,

BY JORDAN FANTOSME.

Hear a true history (May God bless you!)
Of the best king that ever lived.
The desire to make verses has seized me, right it is I should tell you them:
I hold him wise who corrects himself by others.
Gentle king of England of right brave face,
At your son's coronation remember you not that
You caused the homage from the hands of the king of Albany
To be presented to him, without forfeiture of fealty?
Then you said to them both, "God curse them who
10 "Would disjoin love and friendship from you!
"Against the whole world, with might and with "aid
"Be with my son—saving my over-lordship."
Afterwards deadly envy arose between you and your son,
Whence many a gentle knight has since lost his life,
Many a man been unhorsed, many a saddle emptied,
Many a good shield pierced, many a hauberk broken.

Après icest curunement, e après ceste baillie,
Surportastes à[1] vostre fiz auques de seignurie,
Tolistes lui ses volentés ; n'en pot[2] aver baillie :
Là crut guerre senz amur, Damnes-Deus la maldie !
Reis[3] de terre senz honur ne set bien que faire :
Ne sout[4] li juefnes curunez, li gentilz debonaire.
Quant ne pot ses volentez acumplir pur sun paire,

The young king flies to Louis of France (March 8, 1173).

Pensout en sun curage qu'il li fereit cuntraire :
Turnad s'en tut à celée,[5] passad un gué de Leire,[6]
De si qu'il vint à Saint-Denis[7] ne volt mangier ne beire,
Cuntad al rei de France trestut le suen afaire.
Mandent celui de Flandres, Felipe depuignaire,[8]
E Maheu de Buluine,[9] qu'il venist od sun fraire.
Grant fud cele asemblée : unc[10] ne vëistes maire.
Li reis Lowis de France si fud à Saint-Denis,—
Mar fud la guerre faite envers le rei Henris ![11]—
E tint un grant cuncile de tuz ses bons amis.
Del viel rei d'Engleterre[12] esteit issi pensis,
A poi de duel n'esrage[13] li gentil rei Lowis.

---

[1] *à*, om. L.

[2] *n'en poiet*, L.

[3] The scribe of D. has placed the R. of *Reis* in the margin.

[4] *Ne solt*, L. In D. the word is *uusout*.

[5] *sei tut à celé*, L.

[6] *del heire*, L.

[7] *D'issi . . . Seint-Deonis*, L.

[8] *Mandé unt idunc Philippe le pugneire*, L.

[9] *E le cunte de Buliugne*, L.

[10] *unques*, L.

[11] L. omits this line, but M. Vising is mistaken in saying that it does not occur in D.

[12] *de Engletere*, L. This variation recurs, but will not be again recorded.

[13] *de dul ne rage*, L.

After this coronation, and after this delegation,
You withdrew from your son something of his lordship,
You annulled his desires; he could not have his power.
20 Thence grew loveless war, the Lord God curse it!
A king of a country knows ill what to do without honour:
Neither did the crowned youth, the noble and kind,
When he was unable on account of his father to fulfil his desires,
He thought in his heart that he would oppose him:
He turned himself away quite secretly, passed a ford of the Loire;
Until he reached St. Denis he would neither eat nor drink.
He very soon related his business to the king of France.
They send for him of Flanders, Philip[1] the warrior,
And Matthew[2] of Boulogne to come with his brother.
30 Great was this meeting: you never saw greater.
King Louis[3] of France was at Saint Denis,—
In an evil hour was the war waged against king Henry!—[4]
And held a great council of all his good friends.
So much did the gentle king Louis think about
The old king of England as almost to go mad with grief.

---

[1] Son of Thierry d'Alsace and Sibylla of Anjou, aunt to Henry II. He succeeded his father in 1168, and died of the plague at Acre in 1191.

[2] He became count of Boulogne by marriage with Mary, daughter of king Stephen, and abbess of Rumsey.

[3] Louis VII., the first husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

[4] This line and line 43 are almost identical. Its insertion here is perhaps a mistake on the part of the writer of the Durham MS.

Quant li cuens de Flandres en ad drescié sun vis
E dit al rei de France: " Ne seiez si pensis: *fo.* 138*b.*
" Vus avez[1] grant barnage, vailanz e poestis
" Pur faire grant damage desur voz enemis.
" En tute vostre terre mar seit vassal remis,
" Ki puisse[2] porter armes, u ne seit si antis,
" Ne vus face serrement[3] sur le cors saint Denis."
Mar fud faite la guerre[4] devers le rei Henris!
§Li cuens Tiebaut[5] de France dresçad de sun estage,
E dist al emperere ù fud[6] sun grant barnage:
" Gentil rei de Saint-Denis, el cors[7] me tient la rage,
" Jo[8] sui vostre liges hum par fei e par humage,
" Bien sui prest de guerreier e de trover hostage,
" Quarante jorz vus servirai enz[9] el premier estage,
" E ferai al rei Henri, ço crei,[10] itel damage,
" Ne serrad mès restoré en trestut sun eage.[11]
" Ne purrad en nul lieu guarir en plein ne en boscage,
" Se il al jofne rei sun fiz ne rende l'eritage,[12]—
" Le regne d'Engleterre,—si faire volt que sage.
" Larrez-lui Normendie, se ire vus assuage.
" Se rien i ad de mesprisun e dit ai nul ultrage,

---

[1] *Vos aliez*, L.

[2] *Que ne puet*, L.

[3] *serment*, L. This recurring form will not be again recorded.

[4] *la guerre faite*, L.

[5] *Tebald*, L.

[6] *ù fust*, L.

[7] *Gentils reis de Seint-Deonis, el le cors*, L.

[8] *Jeo*, L.

[9] *enz*, om. L.

[10] *jo crei*, L.

[11] *sun age*, L.; *sun* (not *son*) *eage*, D.

[12] *le heritage*, L.

When the count of Flanders had raised his face
And had said to the king of France: "Be not so pensive:
" You have a great baronage, valiant and able
" To do great damage to your enemies.
40 " Throughout your land it would be ill for any
" Vassal, who could carry arms or might
" Not be too old, to delay, nor
" Take an oath to you on the body of St. Denis."
In an evil hour was the war waged against king Henry![1]
The count Thibault[2] of France rose from his seat,
And told the emperor[3] where his great baronage was:
" Gentle king of Saint Denis, rage possesses me:
" I am your liege man by faith and by homage,
" Right ready am I to war and to find hostage.
" I will serve you forty days in the first rank,
50 " And I will do king Henry, I believe, such damage
" As will not be made good in all his life.
" He will be able to escape it in no place, neither " in plain nor in wood,
" If he does not surrender the heritage to the " young king his son—
" The kingdom of England,—if he will do what is " wise.
" You will leave him Normandy, if he appeases " your anger.
" If there is any error and I have said anything " outrageous,

---

[1] See line 32. Perhaps, indeed, the line is intended as a sort of refrain.

[2] Thibault V., count of Blois and Champagne.

[3] The use of this title is worthy of notice. See *l.* 435.

"U nul le voille demustrer[1] vers mei en sun "language,
"Veez-mei ci en vostre curt prest de pleier mun "guage,
"Cil est vostre parjure,[2] si quiert vostre huntage."
§Jà sunt à un acord[3] li reis e ses baruns,
E tramettent messages par plusurs regiuns;
Le rei Henri desfient par itels achaisuns,
Mettent les beles[4] terres à granz destructiuns.

The revolt breaks out (after April 15, 1173).

El meis d'avril[5] en Paskerez fud l'ost de France sumuns,
E chevalchent ès marches[6] laciez les gumphanuns.
Li reis Henri chevalche cuntre els à espuruns,
E ot en sa cumpaigne dis mile Braibençons[7]
E maint gentil chevalier, Angevins e Gascuns,
Ki frunt à ceus de France ires e cuntençons.
Mult fud grant l'ost de France que ameine Lowis.
Pur destruire le pere se peine mult le fiz:
[Vencu e pris de guere merrad le à Saint-Denis.][8]
Mès li reis sun pere li ad tut el pramis,
Qu'il[9] verrad maint gumfanun e maint cheval de pris, *fo.* 139.
Mainte targe dubblé blanc e vermeil e bis,
Mainte juste faire[10] envers ses enemis,
Ainz qu'il seit de bataille recrëuz ne cunquis.[11]
§ Li sires d'Engleterre ad en sun cuer pesance[12]

---

[1] *vuille mustrer*, L.

[2] *parjure*, L.; *parjuire*, D.

[3] *acorde*, L.

[4] *les bones*, L.

[5] *El le meis d'averil*, L.

[6] *as merches*, L.

[7] *cumpainie dis mil Brabeçuns*, L.

[8] This line occurs in L. only.

[9] L. reads confusedly:—
Qu'il verrad meint gunfanun blanc vermeil e bis,
Meinte targe dublé meint bon chival de pris.

[10] *fete*, L.

[11] *u cunquis*, L.

[12] *quor pensance*, L.

" Or some one desires to contradict me,
" Behold me here in your court ready to offer my
" gage,
" That this man is forsworn to you and seeks your
" shame."
60 Already the king and his barons are agreed
And send messengers through many parts;
They defy King Henry for such reasons,
And subject fair lands to great damage.
In the month of April, at Eastertide, was the French
host summoned,
And they ride to the borders with banners furled.
King Henry rides against them in haste,
And has in his company ten thousand Brabançons,
And many a gentle knight, Angevin and Gascon,
Who will cause to those of France wrath and strife.
70 Very great was the French host which Louis led.
The son takes great pains for his father's destruction:
When vanquished and a prisoner of war he will
lead him to Saint Denis.
But the king his father has promised him still more,
That he shall see many a standard and many a
valuable horse,
Many a shield lined white and red and grey,
Many a joust made against his enemies,
Before he would be recreant in battle or vanquished.
The lord of England had trouble in his heart

Quant sun fiz le guerreie, qu'il nurri ad d'enfance,
80 E veit que cil de Flandres l'unt mis en errance.
Pramis li unt la terre des Engleis à fiance;[1]
Mielz volsist mort que vie qu'il eüst la puissance,
Tant cum il pout d'espée ferir u de lance.[2]
Establist sun barnage par fiere cuntenance,
85 Vait encuntre Lowis, le riche rei de France,
Cuntre le cunte Phelippun, dunt vus oiez parlance,
E dan[3] Maheu sun frere, chevalier de vaillance.
Mult aida Deu le pere le jor, quant il l'avance,
E mustra de sa guerre bele signifiance;
90 Que le sucurs de sun fiz, ù plus fud s'esperance,[4]
Fud le jor agraventé senz nule demurance.
Ço fud[5] Maheu le puigneur, sur qui vint la lance;
N'aurad mès li reis Henriz pur lui nule dutance.

Death of Matthew of Boulogne (July, 1173).

§ Li cuens de Buluine ad receu mortel plaie,
95 De si qu'as espuruns à or li sanc vermeilz li raie.
Ne purrad jamès guarir, asez ad[6] qu'il asaie.
Tant est sis freres plus dolent, e plus suvent s'esmaie,
E jure sun serrement, "La pretiuse plaie,"
Jamès vers le rei Henri n'aurad nule appaie.[7]
100 Ore chevalche Lowis, si fait le jofne rei,[8]
E Phelippe de Flandres[9] est mis en grant desrei.
Li cuens Tiebaut de France demeine grant podnei.[10]

---

[1] L. omits the two lines, *E veit — à fiance.*

[2] *peust d'espée ferir u de sa lance*, L.

[3] *En dan*, L.

[4] *ù plus ot sa fiance*, L.

[5] *Ceo fu*, L.

[6] *ad assez*, L.

[7] *n'avera nul apaie*, L.

[8] *reis*, L.

[9] *de Flandres*, L.; om. D.

[10] *Tebaud — pothnei, L.*

When his son, whom he had nourished from infancy, waged war on him,
80 And he saw that those of Flanders had deceived him.
They faithfully promised him the land of the English:
He would have preferred death to life rather than that [his son] should have the power,
So long as he could strike with sword or lance.
He marshals his baronage with proud bearing,
And goes against Louis, the wealthy king of France,
Against count Philip, of whom you hear men talk,
And lord Matthew his brother, a valiant knight.
God aided much the father that day, when he advanced
And showed a fair presage of his campaign.
90 For the helpers in whom his son's chief hope rested
Were that day promptly routed.
That was Matthew the fighter on whom came the lance;
King Henry will no longer have fear of him.
The count of Boulogne has received a mortal wound,[1]
From which the red blood trickles to his golden spurs.
He will never recover, however much he may try.
Then[2] is his brother in deeper grief, and oftener alarms himself,
And swears his oath—"The precious wound"—
Never will he have any pacification with king Henry.
100 Now rides Louis, so does the youthful king,
And Philip of Flanders is put in great disorder.
Count Thibaud of France shows great insolence.

---

[1] At the siege of Driencourt, in July, 1173, from an arrow according to Gervase.

[2] Reading *donc* for *tant*, which, though in both MSS., is clearly wrong.

Jà saverad li reis Henri asez ù mover sei.
Franceis li muevent guerre, Flameng et Cupei,
Li cuens de Leircestre, si i sunt[1] ses fiz tut trei.
Icil de Tankarvile[2] ne l'aime pas de fei;
Cent chevaliers à armes ameine en sun cunrei,[3]
Ki tuit lui sul manacent de mettre en tel desrei
Ne li larrunt de terre le pris d'un palefrei.
Seignurs, en la meie[4] fei, merveille est[5] mult grant *fo.* 139*b.*
Pur quei li suen demeine le vunt si demenant,[6]
Le plus honurable e le plus cunquerant[7]
Que fust en nule terre puis le tens Moysant,
Fors sulement li reis Charle, ki poesté fud grant
Par les dudze cumpaignuns, Olivier, e Rodlant.[8]
§ Si ne fud[9] mès oï en fable ne en geste
Un sul rei de sa valur ne de sa grant poeste.
Purquant lui vunt tuz manecant, il en jure[10] sa teste
Ne larrad pur riveier ne pur chacier sa beste.
Or chevalche li cuens Phelipe ovoc sa grant cumpaigne,[11]
E guaste Normendie par bois e par champaigne.[12]
N'en oïssiez le rei Henri qu'il une feiz s'en plaigne,[13]
Ne querre nul achaisun que la guerre remaigne.[14]
Mult ad li juesne reis espleitié, qui si bien se baigne
Encore[15] en ad les mandemenz des baruns de Bretaine.

---

[1] *Leecestre, si sunt,* L.
[2] *Tankervile,* L.
[3] *en meine a sun cunrei,* L.
[4] *mei,* L.
[5] *en est,* L.
[6] *manaçant,* L.
[7] *e plus cumquerant,* L.
[8] *Oliver e Rolant.* L.
[9] *Ce ne fud,* by erasure, L.
[10] *li vunt manaçant si en jure,* L.
[11] *od sa grant cumpainie,* L.
[12] *campaignie,* L.
[13] *que une feiz se plaine,* L.
[14] *remaignie,* L.
[15] *Vncore,* L.

King Henry soon shall know well enough where to betake himself.
The French, the Flemings, and the Capei[1] make war on him,
The earl of Leicester,[2] and there also are his sons all three.
He of Tankerville[3] in truth does not love him;
He leads a hundred armed knights in his troop,
Who all threaten to put [king Henry] to such a rout
That they will not leave him a palfrey's value in land.
110 Lords, by my faith, it is very great marvel
Why his own vassals go on treating him thus—
The most honourable and the most victorious
That has been in any land since the time of Moses,
Save only king Charles, whose power was great
Through the twelve peers, Oliver, and Roland.
One never heard in fable or in story
Of a single king of his valour or of his great power.
Although all come to him threatening, he swears by his head that
He will not cease to hawk by river nor to chase his beast.
120 Now count Philip rides with his great company,
And lays waste Normandy by wood and plain.
You would never once have heard king Henry bewail it,
Nor seek any occasion for the cessation of war.
Much has the young king done, who is well pleased that
Still he has the command of the barons of Brittany.

---

[1] People, M. Michel says, of the place which Gilbert of Mons calls Capis. It was then a possession of the count of Flanders. See Bouquet, xiii. 566 E.

[2] Robert de Beaumont, third earl of Leicester.

[3] Guillaume le Jeune, *Camerarius de Tancarvilla*. *Ben. Petr.*, i. 45.

§ Quant ço oï le pere,[1] greins en fud e irez,
E jure sun serrement, mar fud unques pensez,
E dit à ses chevaliers : " Seignurs, ore m'entendez :
" Unques mès en ma vie ne fui si adulez ;[2]
" El cors[3] me tient la rage : a poi ne sui desvez.
" Les baruns de Bretaigne m'unt jà cuntrariez,[4]
" A ceus qui[5] me héent à mort se sunt abandunez,
" Al rei Lowis de France e à mun fiz ainz nez,
" Ki me vunt deseritant de ço dunt sui chasez.[6]
" Tolir me volt ma terre[7] e fieus e heritez.
" Ne sui pas si envielli, ço sevent[8] gent asez,
" Ke deive terre perdre ne pur mes granz héez.
" Od la lune serie anuit eschilguaitiez,[9]
" Que Flameng ne terruen[10] ne seient enbuschiez.
" Les baruns de Bretaine, vus le savez asez,
" Tresqu'en Fine Busterne[11] sunt en mes poestez ;
" Mès Raül de Feulgiere est vers mei revelez,[12]
" Li cuens Huge[13] de Cestre en est sis afiez.
" Ne larrai que[14] ne's veie pur fin or esmerez,
" Si trover le poeie[15] dedenz lur fermetez ;
" E puis que noz enemis sunt si asëurez, *fo.* 140.
" Dunc les fait bon envaïr par granz[16] enemistiez.
" Mielz valt engin que guerre[17] sur gent desmesurez,
" Ke malveis asaillie,[18] s'il sunt descuragiez."

---

[1] *en oï le pere*, L.

[2] *ne fu si avilez*, L.

[3] *E le cors*, L.

[4] *mult m'unt contrailliez*, L.

[5] *A cels ke*, L.

[6] *Que me vunt desheritant de ceo dunt sui chacez*, L.

[7] *la terre*, L.

[8] *ceo suvent*, L.

[9] *Od la lunne sei anuit achauveitez*, L.

[10] *Que Flamenc e li altre*, L.

[11] *Finiebus terre*, L.

[12] *Meis Raüf de Feugere vers mei est revelez*, L.

[13] *Heue*, L. This variation will not be further noted.

[14] *Ne lerrai ki*, L.

[15] *les poie*, L.

[16] *bien envaïr par mult grant*, L.

[17] *engin de guere*, L.

[18] *assaille*, L.

When his father heard that, he was grieved and angry at it,
And swore his oath, wrongly was it ever thought,
And said to his knights, " My Lords, hear me now :
" Never in my life was I so distressed.
130 " Anger takes possession of me: I am almost " driven mad.
" The barons of Brittany have already opposed me
" And have abandoned themselves to those who " mortally hate me,
" To king Louis of France and my eldest son,
" Who come to disinherit me of that whence I " am driven.
" He wishes to take from me my lands and fiefs " and inheritances.
" I am not grown so old, people know that well " enough,
" That I ought to lose my land, nor on account of " my great feuds.
" Keep watch to-night with the tranquil moon,
" That neither Fleming nor son of the soil [1] be in " ambush.
140 " You know well enough that the barons of " Brittany
" As far as Finisterre are in my power;
" But Raoul of Fougères [2] is in rebellion against me,
" And earl Hugh of Chester is bound to him.
" I will not fail to see them for lack of fine pure " gold,
" If I can find them within their strongholds;
" And since our foes are so confident
" It is well then to attack them with great enmity.
" Cunning is more effective than fighting with " rebels
" [Or] than a dangerous attack, if they are dis- " couraged."

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[1] *terrien*, is the usual form.

[2] See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, ii. 897–9.

Respunt sun barnage: “Pleins estes de buntez,
“ Trestuz voz enemis sunt en mal an entrez.
“ Vostre est la terre, si la defendez;
“ A tort vus guerreie li vostre engendrez.”
Atant ès-vus ces chevaliers[1] descenduz del paleis;
E vunt saisir ses armes[2] igneus, e demaneis
Vestir haubercs e bruines, lacier ces healmes freis,
Prendre par les enarmes ces escuz Vianeis.[3]
Dunc oïssiez Deu aramir[4] li vielz Henri li reis:
“ Mar m’aurunt entre-acuntré li traïtre ès chaumeis!”[5]
De la vile sunt issuz chevaliers as cunreis,
Meins de seisante mile e plus[6] de seisante treis,
N’ad celui qui[7] ne quide valeir un rei Waleis.
Ore chevalche le rei Henri od tute sa meidnée;[8]
Devers Dol en Bretaine tient[9] la cheminée.
E dit Willame de Humaz[10]—il est en la jornée:
“ Ne tenum plait de[11] demurer: veiz-ci la lur cuntrée.”
Ceus del chastel unt jà vëu Willame e sa baniere,
E veient que li Braibençon[12] veneient tut ariere.
“ Veez l’ost de Normendie, qui nus mettrunt[13] ariere.
“ Norman sunt bon cunquerur, n’ad gent de lur maniere:

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[1] *ses chivalers*, L.

[2] *les armes*, L.

[3] *les escuz maneis*, L.

[4] *Deu clamer*, L.

[5] *Mar m’averunt entre encuntré li traïtre has chemeis*, L.

[6] *Poi meins de trente mile plus*, L.

[7] *N’ad celui qui*, D.; *N’ad celi que*, L.

[8] *e tute sa mednée*, L.

[9] *Devers Dul en Bretaigne tien*, L.

[10] *Humez*, L.

[11] *plait à*, L.

[12] *Brabeçun*, L.

[13] *Normundie — meteit*, L.

150 His baronage answers: "Full you are of goodness,
"All your enemies have begun a bad year.
"The land is yours, therefore defend it:
"Your son wrongly wars against you."
Then behold these knights come down from the palace
And seize their arms actively and promptly,
Put on hauberks and breastplates and lace their new helmets,
And take by the arm-strap their shields of Vienne.[1]
Then you might hear Henry the old king swear before God:
"Woe to the traitors who shall meet me in the "stubble!"
160 Knights have come forth from the town in array,
Less than sixty thousand and more than sixty-three,
Nor is there one of them who does not think himself worth a Welsh king.
Then rides king Henry with all his company;
Towards Dol in Brittany he holds his course.
And William of Humez[2]—he is in the battle—says:
"Let us not talk of delay: see here their country."
Those in the castle have already seen William and his banner,
And see that the Brabançons come all in the rear.[3]
"See the host of Normandy, who will drive us "back.
170 "Normans are good conquerors; there is no race "like them:

---

[1] In Dauphiné.

[2] Son of Richard of Humez. He died in 1206.

[3] There seems to be a line missing here from both MSS. William appears in *l.* 165 as the speaker, and in *l.* 167 as a person spoken of. His words, too, would, according to Fantosme's custom, end with the *laisse* which has the *ée* rhyme. Lines 167, 168 must thus be viewed as narrative, and *l.* 169 as beginning the words of a speaker not named.

“ Par tut trovom en geste que[1] Norman sunt venquere:
“ Pensez-ent, sire Raül, kar la cumpaigne est fiere.
“ Traï nus ad le jofne rei qui guerreie sun pere,
“ Quant il les chemins laissa pur estre sur riviere.[2]
“ Cument defendre purrium ne vei nule maniere.
“ Ne recevrunt[3] argent ne or: poi nus valdrad preiere.”
Raül respunt encuntre: “Ci n’ad mestier folie,
“ Ne gab, ne enveisure, ne nule lecherie;
“ Mès ki bon cunseil saurad, vienged avant si l’ die.[4]
“ N’avum poür de perdre ne [membre ne][5] la vie.
“ Li viel rei se demeine par mult grant estultie,
“ [Quant il de Bretaigne demande seignurie,][6]
“ Manace nus pur sun aveir e pur sa manantie. *fo.* 140. *b.*
“ Mès n’en irra pas issi cum sun orguil le guie.
“ Tel cunseil ore[7] en pernum, senz estrif de atie,
“ Ke nus ne seium hui huniz, ne la terre malbaillie.
“ Cest chastel n’est mie fort: ne nus i fium mie.
“ Issum nus fors[8] encuntre: si lur frum asaillie.”
§ Atant se[9] sunt entre-feruz enz en mi la champaigne—
Dan Willame de Humaz[10] e ceus de sa cumpaigne.
N’i ad chevalier de pris qui sa lance n’i fraigne:
Ki juster volt à cumpaignun, tost i trova[11] bargaigne.

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[1] *Par truum de gestes ke*, L.
[2] *sujunere*, L.
[3] *Ne receverent*, L.
[4] *saverad, vienge, s’il le die*, L.
[5] *membre ne*, om. D.
[6] D. omits this line.
[7] *ore*, om. L.
[8] *hors*, L.
[9] *se*, om. L.
[10] *Humez*, L.
[11] *i trovera*, L.

" We find everywhere in story that Normans are
" the victors :
" Think of it, Sir Raoul, for the company is fierce.
" The young king, who wars against his father,
" betrayed us
" When he left the roads to be on the river-bank.
" I see no way of defending ourselves.
" They will not take silver or gold : entreaty will
" avail little."
Raoul retorts : " Folly has no business here,
" Nor scoff, nor pleasantry, nor any buffoonery ;
" But whoever knows good counsel let him come
" forward and speak.
180 " We have no fear of losing life or limb.
" The old king comports himself with very great
" foolishness,
" When he demands the lordship of Brittany,
" And threatens us for his possessions and his
" riches.
" But he shall not proceed in the way his pride
" guides him.
" Such counsel now let us take without angry
" strife[1]
" That we may not be to-day dishonoured, nor the
" land ill-governed.
" This castle is by no means strong : let us not
" trust to it at all.
" Let us sally out against them : so we will attack
" them."
Then they exchanged blows in the midst of the
plain—
190 Lord William de Humez and those of his party.
There is no knight of importance who there breaks
not his lance :
He who desired to tilt against an adversary soon
found there a match.

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[1] M. Vising amends *aatie*.

Par force furent entassez les baruns de Bretaigne[1]
Dedenz lur meïsmes fermetez. N'i ad nul ki n'i s'i plaigne.[2]
195 Par force fud en sun chastel dan Raül de Feulgiere:
Huge li cuens de Cestre se claime las pechiere.
Ne lur pot aver mestier mangunel ne periere.
La guerre qu'il unt faite lur iert vendue chiere,
Kar ore vait un message al rei Henri le pere,
200 A Roem en Normendie[3] sur morel de Riviere,
Si li dit l'aventure de sa meisnie fiere,
Del cunte de Cestre, de Raül de Feulgiere.[4]
Dunc loe Deu le glorius e le barun saint Piere:
"Descunfit sunt mes enemis: allas que jo n'i ere!"
205 Apreste sun barnage, en qui il mult se fie;
Devers Dol en Bretaigne ad la veie acuillie;[5]
Mès puis qu'il fud là parvenud od sa chevalerie,
Del fait à sa meidnée joius se glorifie.
Ces qui[6] furent el chastel ne s'esjoïrent mie:
210 Mult dutent sa venue e criement sa baillie.
N'orent tant de vitaille[7] dunt sustiengent lur vie.
Al rei Henri se sunt renduz, si's tient en sa baillie.
"Seignurs," fait li reis Henris, "kar me cunseilliez:[8]
"Mis fiz ad tort vers mei, dreiz est que le sachièz;

Surrender of Dol (26 Aug., 1173).

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[1] *enchacez les seignurs de Bretaine,* L.

[2] *ni ad ki n'i si pleinie,* L.

[3] *A Rom en Normundie,* L. These variations will not be further recorded.

[4] *Feugere,* L. This variation will not be again recorded.

[5] *cuillie,* L.

[6] *Cels ke,* L.

[7] *Ne n'orent pas vitalle,* L.

[8] *kar le me cunuisez,* L.

The barons of Brittany were made to withdraw by force
Within their own strongholds.[1] There is no one there who does not complain of it.
The lord Raoul of Fougères was perforce in his castle:
Hugh, the earl of Chester, proclaims himself a miserable offender.
Neither mangonel nor arbalist availed to serve them.
The war which they have made shall be sold them very dear,
For now goes a messenger to King Henry the father,
200 To Rouen in Normandy on a black horse of Provence,
And tells him the fate of his proud folk,
Of the earl of Chester, of Raoul of Fougères.
Then he praises God the glorious and brave Saint Peter:
"My foes are discomfited: alas that I was not "there!"
He makes ready his baronage, in whom he places great confidence;
He has taken his way towards Dol in Brittany;
But when he arrived there with his knights
Joyously he boasts of the deed to his followers.
Those who were in the castle by no means rejoiced:
210 Much they fear his approach and dread his rule.
They had not provisions sufficient to sustain life.
They have given themselves up to King Henry:[2] he holds them in his power.
"Lords," said King Henry, "advise me:
"My son is in the wrong towards me, it is right "you should know it,

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[1] August 20, *Bened. Petr.*, i. 56.

[2] August 26, *Bened. Petr.*, i. 57.

“ Kar rente tut à force volt aver de mes fiez.
“ Raisun ne me semble qu'ele li seit[1] paiez.
“ De hume de ma vertu ne fud[2] si estroez,
“ E ço[3] que est à force u pris u purchaciez
“ Ço n'est dreit ne raisun: ço est suvent jugiez. *fo.* 141.
“ Pur guarder ma franchise sui asez laidengiez,
“ E par iceus de Flandres suvent cuntraliez;[4]
“ Si n'avum mès busuine d'estre plus damagiez.
“ Tut pri communalment, seignurs, que vus m'aidiez.
“ En estur aduré voz forces asaiez:[5]
“ A tut vostre poeir pur mei vus esforciez.
“ Unkes ne m'amastes, s'al busuin me failliez.[6]
“ Le cunte Huge de Cestre ensemble od vus menez;
“ De Raül de Feulgiere ferai mes volentez.
“ Larrai le tut quite dedenz ces[7] poestez
“ Par itel devise: qu'il iert mis afiez.
“ Si puis vers mei revele par nuls iniquitez,
“ Ne tendrat en Bretaine ne fieus ne heritez.
“ Adubez, seignurs, vos cors; à espleit chevalchiez:
“ Mis fiz est de bataille trestut apparailliez.
“ La rente qu'il demande, li paium des espiez[8]
“ E des branz acerins e des darz aguisiez.”
De ceste novele sunt plusurs bauz e liez—
Ço sunt les chevaliers les pruz e les enseigniez.[9]
E li cuens de Cestre est dolenz e irez,
Ne quide[10] en sa vie estre desprisunez.
    Espoenté sunt li Franceis de la fiere novele,

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[1] *ke li seit*, L.
[2] *su*, L.
[3] *U ço*, L.
[4] *contrariez*, L.
[5] *ad duré voz forces assez*, L.
[6] *failleiz*, L.
[7] *ses*, L.
[8] *qu'il nus demande, li paeierum as espeez*, L.
[9] *e les senez*, L.
[10] *Ne quida*, L.

" For he desires to have revenue by force from
" my fiefs.
" There seems to me no reason why it should be
" paid to him.
" From a man of my firmness never was anything
" extracted in this way,
" And that which is forcibly taken or obtained
" Is neither right nor reasonable: often is that
" condemned.
220 " I am sufficiently ill-treated for guarding my
" privilege,
" And often thwarted by those from Flanders;
" So we have no desire to be further damaged.
" I pray you all, lords, that you will help me.
" Try your strength in pitched battle:
" Strive for me to your utmost.
" You have never loved me if you fail me at need.
" Take with you earl Hugh of Chester;
" With Raoul de Fougères I will do as I please.
" I will leave him quite free within his possessions
230 " On this condition: that he will be my liege.
" If he afterwards by any wickedness should rebel
" against me,
" He shall hold in Brittany neither fiefs nor heritage.
" Arm, lords, your bodies; ride with haste:
" My son is quite ready for battle.
" The revenue he demands let us pay him with
" swords
" And with steel brands and with sharp spears."
Many are joyous and glad at this news—
Those are the valiant and polished knights.
And the earl of Chester is grieved and irate,
240 He thinks that he will never in all his life be
released from prison.
The French are frightened at the proud tidings,

Le cuer al plus hardi en tremble e chancele;
Mès icil les cunforte, ki trestuz les chaele.[1]
Irrur ad en sun cuer, li sanc li estencele.
A un cunseil en vait à sa gent plus leale;
En Romanz devise un brief, d'un anel l'enseele.[2]
Les messagiers al juefne rei devant lui les apele—
Ço fud li reis Lowis ki charga la novele.
Vunt s'en li message ki les briés[3] enporterent.
Passent la mer salée, les regnes traverserent;
Les forez, les plaignes, les ruistes guez passerent;[4]
Vienent en Escoce e le rei i trouverent;[5]
De part le jofne rei Henri les escriz presenterent.
Jà s'orrez les paroles ki[6] escrites i erent:
§ "Al rei d'Escoce, Willame, le meillur, *fo.* 141. *b.*
" A qui nostre lignage fud jadis anceisur,
" Le rei Henri le juefne vus mande par amur:
" Suvenir vus deit de mei ki sui[7] vostre seignur.
" Mult me semble merveille, si ai el cuer[8] hisdur
" De si riche rei, de hume de ta valur,[9]
" Ki tel force ad de gent e en sei tel vigur,
" Ne m'aidez de guerre, se veals, el[10] primur
" A guerreer mun pere, tu e ti cuntur.
" Jo te durrai la terre que orent ti anceisur—

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[1] *chadele*, L.

[2] *l'ensele*, L.

[3] *que les brefs*, L.

[4] *guez passerez*, D.

[5] *i trouverent*, is the reading of D.

[6] *ke*, L.

[7] *ke sui*, L.

[8] *al quor*, L.

[9] *de tant valur*, L.

[10] *si vaus, el le*, L.

The heart of the hardiest trembles and wavers;
But he who leads them all comforts them.
He has ire in his heart, his blood boils.
For advice he applies to the most faithful of his followers;
He dictates a letter in Romance, and seals it with a ring.
The messengers of the young king he summons before him—
It was king Louis who confided (to them) the despatch.
The messengers who carry the letters depart.
They pass the salt sea and cross the kingdoms;
They pass the forests, the plains, the difficult fords;
They come into Scotland, and find the king there;
On the part of the young king Henry they present the writings.
You shall hear now the words therein written:—
" To William,[1] the most excellent king of Scotland,
" To whom our lineage of old was ancestor,
" The young king Henry sends loving message:
" You should remember me who am your lord.
" It seems to me a great wonder, and I have fear in my heart
" About so rich a king,—a man of thy courage—
" Who has such power in adherents, and such energy in himself,
" That you will not help me in war, if you can, at first
" To fight against my father, thou and thy baronage.
" I will give thee the land which thy ancestor had—

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[1] William the Lion, brother of Malcolm IV., whom he succeeded 24 Dec. 1165.

265 “ Ne n'eüs unc[1] en terre de rei si grant honur—
“ La terre de la rive:[2] suz ciel ne sai meillur.
“ Aurez[3] la seignurie en chastel e en tur;
“ Karduil vus durrum, ke seiez plus forçur—[4]
“ Tute Westmarilande senz nul cuntreditur,
270 “ Ke vus me seiez aidant à force, e à baudur
“ Ceus qui tienent ces terres me metez en
“ errur.”[5]
Ore ad li reis d'Escoce el cuer grant marrement
Quant il del jofne rei entent le mandement,
Qu'il li deit sun humage encuntre tute gent.
275 Del autre part li mande saluz cum à parent,
Qu'il li durra sa terre qu'à[6] sun honur apent,
Ke tuz les reis d'Escoce tindrent lur vivant;[7]
E al viel rei sun pere si redeit ensement
Humages e servises, ligance veraiement.
280 N'est dreiz ke pur pramesse face tel hardement
Qu'il destruie la terre le viel rei ascient,
Anceis qu'il ait requis de sun eritement.
S'il le volt cuntredire, dunc face sun talent,
Rende-lui sun humage senz achaisunement.
285 E quant il li aura rendu, e c'il bien le prent,
Ne li deit en nule curt desdire le cuvent,
Kar voleir[8] de prince tient l'em pur jugement.
Dunc tint li reis Willame sun plenier parlement.
Des sages de sa terre volt aver loement,

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[1] *unques*, L.
[2] *de la rive*, L.; *la rine*, D.
[3] *Averez*, L.
[4] *forrur*, L.
[5] *Cels ke tenent — en irrur*, L.
[6] *Qui li — ke à*, L.
[7] *tindrent en lur juvent*, L.
[8] *Kar vulier*, L.

" You never had so great an estate in land from
" the king—
" The border-land: I know no better under
" heaven.
" You shall have the lordship in castle and in
" tower;
" I will give you Carlisle that you may be the
" stronger—
" All Westmoreland without any gainsaying,
270 " That you may aid me with strength, and
" by boldness
" Put to flight for me those who hold these lands."
Now the king of Scotland has in his heart great
affliction
When he hears the message of the young king,
That he owes him homage against all people.
On the other hand he sends salutation to him, as
to a relation,
That he will give him his land which belongs to
his fief,
Which all the kings of Scotland held during life;
And to the old king his father he owes likewise
Homage and service, true allegiance.
280 It is not right that for a promise he should act so
impudently
As to knowingly ravage the territory of the old
king
Before he has laid claim to his inheritance.
If he wills to refuse, then let him do his pleasure,
Render up to him his homage without dispute.
And when he shall have rendered it, and if he
takes it well,
He ought not in any court to deny the covenant,
For a prince's will is held as judgment.
Then king William held his full parliament.
He desires the advice of the wise men of his
kingdom,

S'il[1] deit vers lu jofne rei tenir sun serrement.[2]
N'i ad nul qui l' desdie[3] ne ki ço li defent. *fo.* 142.
Li reis vait cunseillier oue sa barunie,
Dit lur la novele que del rei ad oïe—[4]
Le jofne d'Engleterre, ki sun[5] pere guerrie,
La terre[6] li demande: mès il tut dis li nie.
"Mander voil par messages al pere, en Normendie,
" Qu'il de mun herité me rende une partie,
" Ço est Northumberland,[7] qu'il tient en sa baillie;
" E s'il ço ne volt faire e tut le me desdie,
" Ne li dei[8] en avant ne fei ne druërie."
Respunt le cunte Donekan,[9] e dit cume barun:
" Li vielz reis est rednable,[10] si li faites raisun,
" De faire nul ultrage ne querez achaisun.
" S'il volt, vus le servirez[11] cume ses liges hum.
" Rende-vus voz dreitures senz nule mesprisun,
" Puis si l' vendrez succurre à cuinte[12] d'espurun.
" Mielz valt bele parole mustrée[13] par raisun
" Ke ne fait manace[14] pur demander nul dun;
" E ki autrement le fait, si quiert destructiun,[15]
" Sa mort e sun damage e sa confusiun."[16]
Mult ad li cuens Donekans parlé sagement:

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[1] *S'il*, D. and L.

[2] *serment*, L.

[3] *qui desdie*, L.

[4] *ad oïe*, L.; *unt oïe*, D.

[5] *que sun*, L.

[6] *La tere*, L.; *lad terre*, D.

[7] *Norhumberland*, L. This variation will not be again noted.

[8] *dei*, by erasure of *t*, L.; *deit*, D.

[9] *Dunekan*, L.

[10] *regnable*, L.

[11] *servez*, L.

[12] *Puis si vendrez succure à cuite*, L.

[13] *mustré*, L.

[14] *Ke de fere manace*, L.

[15] *huneisun*, L.

[16] *Sa mort, sun damage u sa destructiun*, L.

290 Whether he ought to keep his oath to the young king.
There is no one who contradicts or forbids him to do it.
The king goes to advise with his baronage
And tells them the tidings which he has heard from the king—
The young king of England, who fights against his father
And demands the kingdom from him: but he altogether refuses.
" I wish to tell the father in Normandy by mes- " sengers
" To restore me a part of my inheritance,
" That is Northumberland, which he holds in his " power;
" And if he wills not to do that, and refuses it to " me altogether,
300 " I owe him thenceforward neither fealty nor " friendship."
Earl Duncan [1] answers, and he speaks like a baron:
" The old king is reasonable if you act rightly " towards him,
" And seek no opportunity for committing an " outrage.
" If he wishes, you will serve him as his liege " man.
" Let him restore you your rights without any " failure,
" Then you will go to aid him at full speed.
" Fair speech offered rationally avails more
" Than threats in asking for a gift;
" And he who does otherwise seeks destruction,
310 " His own death and damage and confusion."
Very sagely has earl Duncan spoken:

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[1] Duncan II., earl of Fife.

N'i ad nul ki l' desdie, par le mien escient.
Dunc dit li reis meïsme, li barun e la gent:
“ Cest cunseil est leiaus, si me vient à talent.
“ Enveium noz messages od icest mandement.
“ Si facent lur port[1] cum chevalier vaillant.”
Vunt s'en li message, lur chevals espurunent,
Par les granz chemins ferrez lur rednes abandunent.
Li cheval sunt mult bon, qui[2] desuz eus randunent.
Vienent en Normendie, pas lunges ne sujornent;[3]
Trovent le viel rei Henri, sagement l'araisunent,
De part[4] le rei d'Escoce lur lettres puis li dunent.
§Frere Willame Dolepene parole[5] tut premier,
E dit au rei d'Engleterre: “Jo sui un messagier.
“ De part le rei d'Escoce[6] vus vieng ci nuntier:[7]
“ Il est vostre parent, si l'[8] devez mult amer;
“ Servira vus en cest busuin,—ne l' verrez mès targier— *fo.* 142. *b.*
“ Od mil chevaliers armez, ainz vienge un meis entier,
“ Od trente mile desarmez (tant les oï numbrer),
“ Ki frunt[9] a voz enemis merveillus encumbrer.
“ Jà ne querrad del vostre vaillant à un denier,
“ Mès que sa dreiture li voilliez otrier,

---

[1] *Ki facent lur message*, L.
[2] *sunt bon, ke*, L.
[3] *ne sujurnerent*, L.
[4] *E de par*, L.
[5] *Dolipene parla*, L.
[6] *De par le rei d'Escoce*, L.
[7] *nuncier*, L.
[8] *si le*, L.
[9] *Ke frunt*, L.

There is no one who gainsays him, according to my knowledge.
Then said the king himself, the barons and the people:
" This is loyal advice, so it pleases me.
" Let us send our messengers with this message.
" Let them do their duty like valiant knights."
The messengers depart, they spur their horses,
On the great paved roads they slacken their reins.
The horses are very good, which gallop under them.
320 They reach Normandy, not long do they tarry:
They find the old king Henry, and speak wisely to him,
Then they give him their letters on behalf of the king of Scotland.
Brother William Dolepene[1] speaks first,
And says to the king of England: "I am a messenger.
" I come here to make an announcement to you in the name of the king of Scotland:
" He is your relation, so you should love him much;
" He will serve you in this affair,—you will not see him delay—
" With a thousand armed knights, before one whole month passes,
" With thirty thousand unarmed[2]—so many I have heard them numbered—
330 " Who will cause wonderful embarrassment to your enemies.
" He will not seek of yours the value of a single penny,
" Provided that you will be willing to grant him his right,

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[1] Mr. Stevenson conjectures that this should be D'Olifent.

[2] *desarmez.* M. Vising suggests *d'armez* or *armez*, but this would miss the intended division between the *chevaliers armez* (*i.e.*, defensively and offensively) and the *desamrez* (= *sans armes*), those who bore weapons, but no armour.

“ Ço est Northumberland, qu’il quiert[1] tut premier,
“ Kar nul n’i ad si grant raisun e k’il[2] volsist chalengier.
“ Ore veez-mei ci en vostre curt : terme avant ne quier.[3]
“ Ferai derainement[4] par un sul chevalier,
“ E si ço ne volez faire, pur lui desheriter,
“ Ci vus rent sun humage : ne l’ vus quier pas celer.”
Quant li reis d’Engleterre entent le mandement
De sun cusin d’Escoce, de sun ententement,[5]
Dit à sun message qu’il ne fera[6] nïent ;
Ne quiert[7] aver al respuns estrange ne parent.
“ Dites au rei d’Escoce que pas ne m’espoent
“ Pur guerre que jo aie de mun fiz en present,
“ Ne pur le rei de France, ne pur la sue gent,
“ Ne le cuens de Flandres ki m’envaïst[8] suvent.
“ Jo’s ferai de lur guerre curesçus[9] e dolent,
“ E à lui frai[10] cuntraire, si Deu le me cunsent.
“ Mès dites-mei sun frere David,[11] le mien parent,
“ Qu’il vienge pur mei aidier od tant cum il ad de gent.[12]
“ Tant li durrai de terre e tant de chasement,
“ Tutes ses demandes ferai à sun talent.”
—“ Sire,” fait li messagier, “ jo l’ vus ai en cuvent ;
“ Mès le cungié nus dunez d’aler salvement.”

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[1] *Ceo est Norhumberland qu’il quor*, L.

[2] *reisun qu’il*, L.

[3] *ici en vostre curt, terme ne requer*, L.

[4] *Ferai le dereitné*, L.

[5] *entendement*, L.

[6] *fra*, L.

[7] *ne quer*, L.

[8] *que m’envaït*, L.

[9] *curucez*, L.

[10] *ferai*, L.

[11] *Davi sun frere*, L.

[12] *pur mei succure od tant cum il ad gent*, L.

That is Northumberland, which he asks for first
" of all,
" For no one [else] has so great reason for claiming it.
" Now you behold me here in your court: I do
" not ask a fixed date.
" I will have the right proved by a single knight,
" And if in order to disinherit him you refuse to
" do it,
" I here return you his homage: I do not seek to
" hide it from you."
When the king of England hears the message
340 Of his cousin of Scotland, respecting his intention,
He tells his messenger that he will do nothing;
He seeks not to have at call either stranger or
relation.
" Tell the king of Scotland that I have no fear
" Of the war that I may have with my son at
" present,
" Nor of the king of France, nor of his people,
" Nor of the count of Flanders, who frequently
" attacks me.
" I will make them wrathful and sorry for their
" war,
" And I will cause him vexation, if God permit.
" But tell his brother David,[1] my relation, on my
" behalf
350 " That he should come to help me with as many
" men as he has.
" I will give him so much land and so many fiefs,
" I will perform all his requests according to his
" desire."
" Sire," saith the messenger, "I promise it you;
" But give us leave to go in safety."

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[1] Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion.

355 §Atant sunt li message parti de Normendie.
Troevent bon passage, n'i demurent mie,
Traversent Engleterre, vienent en Albanie.
Li messagier sunt sage, n'unt cure de folie:
Ne troevent qui lur mesface ne qui nul[1] mal lur die
360 Dès la mer[2] de Dovre de si qu'en Orkenie.[3]
Jà dirrunt tel parole de guerre par atie
Dunt cil plurrunt encore qui rien n'en[4] unt oïe:
§" Sire rei d'Escoce, Deus saut tun barnage, *fo.* 143.
" Tun cors e tun curage e tun grant vasselage![5]
365 " Del rei d'Engleterre resui venu message.
" Ore oiez sun[6] mandement: ne l' tenez à folage.
" Mult s'esmerveille de vus, k'el[7] cors vus tient la rage;
" Il vus teneit à sages hum, ne mie d'enfantil[8] age,
" Celui qu'il plus[9] amot senz mustrer nul damage.
370 " Ne l' devriez[10] requerre de si fait ultrage.
" Demandez-lui sa terre pur vostre heritage,
" Cum il fust enprisunez cum oisel dedenz cage;
" Il n'est fuitis[11] de terre ne devenuz salvage;
" Ainz est rei d'Engleterre en plein e en boscage.
375 " Ne vus durra pur sun busuin en cest premier estage
" Acreissement de terre: ço est sun language.[12]

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[1] *nul*, L.; D. has *lul.*

[2] *De la mer*, L.

[3] *Orkanie*, L.

[4] *qui pas n'en*, L.

[5] *Tun cors e ta poeste e tun gentil curage*, L.

[6] *Ore oiez le*, corrected in plummet in margin to *sun*, L.

[7] *Mult s'amerveille de vus, c'al*, L.

[8] *d'enfantel*, L.

[9] *E celui ke plus*, L.

[10] *Ne deveriez*, L.

[11] *fustifs*, L.

[12] *ceo est sun language*, L.

Then the messengers departed from Normandy.
They find a good passage across, and make no delay there,
They cross England, they reach Albany.
The messengers are wise, they care not for frivolities:
They meet with no one who molests them or gives them evil speech
360 From the sea of Dover as far as Orkney.
Soon they will tell such a message of war through anger,
At which those also who have not heard of it shall weep.
" Sire, king of Scotland, God save thy baronage,
" Thy body and thy valour, and thy great retinue!
" I return as a messenger from the king of England.
" Now hear his message: hold it not lightly.
" He wonders much at you, that rage possesses you:
" He took you for a wise man, not a child in years,
" And as one whom he loved best, without thought of injury.
370 " You should not have required from him such a preposterous act.
" You ask of him his land for your heritage
" As though he were captive, like a bird in a cage.
" He is neither a fugitive from his realm nor become a savage;
" But he is king of England in plain and in wood.
" He will not give you on account of his need, at this first stage,
" Increase of territory: such are his words.

" Ainz verra se li ferrez amur e cusinage,
" Cument vus vus cuntendrez, cum fol u cume
" sage."[1]
Dunc oïssiez ces chevaliers, la gent juefne e
salvage,[2]
380 Jurer riche serrement[3] e afichier curage:
" Si vus cel rei ne guerreiez ki par tel vus
" hansage,
" Ne devez tenir terre ne nul[4] seignurage;
" Ain devez al fiz Mahalt servir en servage."[5]
§Ore ot li reis d'Escoce sa gent qui l' cuntrarie;[6]
385 N'unt pas Engelram l'evesque, le mielz de sa
clergie,
Ne le cunte Waldef ne se purfiche mie
A cunseillier la guerre (bien veit que ço est
folie),
Si que li reis meïsmes suvent le cuntralie
Par l'enticement de ces qu'aiment[7] la folie,
390 E jure sun serrement, "Deu le fiz Marie!
" Ne remeindra la guerre pur vostre cuardie.
" Asez avez en tresor, aver, e manantie.
" Defendez vostre terre e querez-vus[8] aïe;
" E, si faire ne l' volez,[9] en tute vostre vie
395 " N'aurez de mun cunquest vaillant à un alie."[10]
Ço li[11] respunt le cunte: "Refrenez cel talent.
" Jo[12] sui vostre liges huem, si furent mi parent.
" Ne savum puint de guerre: pur ço si m'espoent.
" A cumencier barate cuvient[13] acuintement. *fo.* 143. *b.*
400 " Ne vus devez pas fier en fol enticement,[14]

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[1] *Cument vus tendrez cum fol ou cum*, L.

[2] *la gefne gent salvage*, L.

[3] *sermenz*, L.

[4] *tener terre de vostre*, L.

[5] *En devez al fiz Mahaut servir cum en servage*, L.

[6] *cuntraillie*, L.

[7] *de cels ki aiment*, L.

[8] *vus*, D. L.

[9] *ne le volez*, L.

[10] *N'en averez — vaillant un alie*, L.; *Alie* = fruit d'alizier.

[11] *celui*, L.

[12] *Jeo*, L.

[13] *bareite cuvent*, L.

[14] *afier en fol aticement*, L.

" Rather he will see whether you bear him love
" and cousinship,
" How you comport yourself, whether as a fool or
" wise man."
Then you might hear those knights, the youthful and wild people,
380 Swear a noble oath and proclaim their intentions :
" If you do not make war upon this king, who
" beards you thus,
" You ought not to hold either land or lordship ;
" But should serve the son of Maud in bondage."
Now the king of Scotland hears his people who
oppose him ;
They have not bishop Engelram,[1] the best of his
clergy,
Nor does Earl Waltheof[2] venture
To advise war—he clearly sees it is folly.
So that the king himself often goes against him
By the prompting of those who love folly,
390 And swears his oath " God the son of Mary !
" The war will not be stayed on account of your
" cowardice.
" You have enough in treasure, goods, and wealth.
" Defend your land and seek aid for yourself ;
" And, if you will not do so, in all your life
" You shall not have of my gain the value of
" a berry."
Thus the earl answers him : " Restrain this desire.
" I am your liege man, so were my relations.
" We know nothing of war : wherefore I have
" dread.
" Knowledge is expedient for the commencement
" of strife.
400 " You ought not to trust to unwise prompting,

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[1] Engelram, bishop of Glasgow. See Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 233.

[2] Earl of Dunbar : *Chron. de Mailros, ann.* 1182.

"Ne creire la folie de alienes genz.[1]
"Se bien vus puet avenir, il guaignerunt[2] suvent;
"Ne reperdrunt de guaires, se chiet vus[3] male-
"ment.
"Li vilain dit en reprovier, si dit mult veire-
"ment:
405 "'Tel nuist ki[4] ne puet aidier quant vient al
"'jugement.'
"Ne quidez que jo l' die pur nul esmaiement,
"Ne que vus faille de guerre tant cume[5] sui
"vivant."
§ Quant cel cunseil fud duné, li reis ne l' crut
mie.
Ne remaindra la guerre pur perdre Abanie;[6]
410 Mès il voldrad ultre mer enveier un espie
Pur veeir le cuntienement le pere en Normendie,
E puis avant en Flandres, al fiz, en qui il se fie,[7]
Ses briés e ses messages, ki haltement li die:[8]
"Cume li reis sun pere par dit me cuntralie
415 "E par itel manace cum vus avez oïe,
"E, s'il volt tenir cuvenant par fiance plevie,
"Ne larrai ne li face prueçainement aïe.
"Si nus enveit de Flandres ses Flamens[9] od
"navie,
"Par cent e par[10] cinquante de cele gent hardie:
420 "Jo lur livrai la veie la gent qui nus[11] guerrie.
"Cil assaudrunt les chastels par force d'establie.
"Willame de Saint-Michiel ferad icest message,
"E Robert de Husevile, kar ambesdous sunt
"sage,

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[1] *aliene gent*, L.

[2] *Se bien puit avenir il guanierunt*, L.

[3] *Ne perderunt . . . si vus chet*, L.

[4] *Tel nuist ke*, L.

[5] *Ne vus faudre de guere tant cum*, L.

[6] *Albanie*, L. This recurs, and will not be again recorded.

[7] *ù il s'afie*, L.

[8] *Enveira ses messages, ki haltement li dient*, L.

[9] *les Flamencs*, L.

[10] *par*, om., L.

[11] *Jeo lur — ke nus*, L.

" Nor to believe that foreigners are fools.
" If good befal you, they will often gain;
" They will not lose much, if it turn out badly
" with you.
" The peasant says in the proverb, and says very
" truly:
" 'He harms who cannot help when the trial
" 'comes on.'
" Think not that I say it for any fear,
" Nor that while I live I shall fail you in war."
When this advice was given the king trusted it
not at all.
The war will not be stayed, though Albany should
be lost;
410 But he had desired to send a spy across the sea
To see the position of the father in Normandy,
And then onwards into Flanders, to the son in
whom he trusts,
His letters and his messengers, who say loudly to
him:
" Since the king his father by word opposes me
" And by such menace as you have heard,
" And if he is willing to keep covenant by pledged
" faith,
" I will not fail to give him assistance speedily.
" So let him send us from Flanders his Flemings
" with a fleet,
" By hundreds and by fifties of that bold race.
420 " I will give them the road to the people who war
" with us.
" They will attack the castles by regular siege.
" William de Saint-Michel will bear this mes-
" sage
" And Robert de Husevile, for both are wise,

“ Suvent sunt en busuine prové de vasselage:
“ Bien sevent en riche curt parler de[1] maint “ language.”
A cest message faire s’en[2] vunt ces messagiers;
Li reis le volt e grée, si l’ funt mult volentiers.
A Berewic-sur-Tine troevent les noteniers
Ki ’s amerrunt en Flandres les sages messagiers.
Jà sunt entrez en barges, e vunt en halte mer,
E traient sur[3] lur sigles, si se funt desarmer.
N’unt cure d’Engleterre lunges acosteer:[4]
Il sunt lur mortel enemi, qu’il soleient amer.
Si cum ces chevaliers unt trové lur seignur
Oue le rei de France, Lowis l’emperëur, *fo.* 144.
Dient lur messages suef e senz irrur,
Si que[5] bien l’entendent de France li cuntur.
E li cuens Phelipe est mis en tel errur,
Parole devant les autres le noble guerrëur.
Ore dit li cuens Philipe une raisun membrée[6]
Veant la curt de France: mult fud bien escutée.
“ Tenez al rei d’Escoce la fiance afiée;
“ Qu’il vus aït[7] de guerre, hastif, senz demurée.
“ Destruice voz enemis e guaste lur cuntrée,
“ Par fu e par enbrasement tute seit alumée;
“ Ne lur laist defors, n’en[8] forest ne en prée,
“ Dunt il puissent al matin aveir une disnée;
“ Puis asiece lur chastels de sa gent aünée:

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[1] *parler en*, L.
[2] *faire en*, L.
[3] *sus*, L.
[4] *acoster*, L.
[5] *Si cum*, L.
[6] *membré*, D.; *membrée*, L.
[7] *Qu’il vus eit*, L.
[8] *de fors chastels en*, L.

"Often at need have they given proof of prowess:
"Well they know how to speak in many a language
"at a great court."
These messengers go to do this errand:
The king wills it and desires it, so they do it very
willingly.
At Berwick-on-Tweed[1] they find the mariners
Who will conduct to Flanders the astute envoys.
430 Already they are on board barques, and go on the
high seas,
And hoist up their sails, and unmoor[2] their vessel.
They do not care to coast along England:
They whom they used to love are their mortal
foes.
So when these knights have found their lord
With the king of France, Louis the emperor,
They tell their message gently and dispassionately,
So that the counts of France understand it well.
And count Philip is so distressed that
The noble warrior speaks before the rest.
440 Now count Philip says a prudent word
Before the court of France: right well was it
listened to.
"Keep the faith pledged to the king of Scotland,
"That he may aid you in war, swiftly, without
"delay.
"Destroy your foes and ravage their country,
"By fire and burning let all be set alight;
"That nothing be left them outside, either in wood
"or meadow,
"Of which in the morning they could have a
"dinner.
"Then with his united force let him besiege
"their castles:

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[1] *Tyne*, in both MSS.
[2] No doubt we should read *desancrer*.

" N'aurunt succurs ne aïe dedenz tredze luées.[1]
" Issi deit l'en[2] cumencier guerre: ço m'est vis.[3]
" Primes guaster la terre e puis ses enemis.
" Nus li aiderum de Flandres ainz vienge[4] quinze dis,
" Par quei ces d'Engleterre serrunt nun poestis."
§Si cum li quens Philipe ad fait sa randunée,
Li reis Lowis de France le volt e si l'agrée,
E dit as noz[5] messages: "Ja s'iert enseelée[6]
" La chartre ke vus porterez enz en vostre cuntrée.
" Dites al rei d'Escoce, senz nule demurée,
" La terre est tute sue qu'il ad demandée."
Quant ces messages sunt venuz e arivez à terre,
Dunc furent bien asëur de cumencier la guerre.
Asez purriez oïr, mar alissiez luinz querre:
" Alum prendre le chastel de Werc en Engleterre."
§Ne fud unkes engendré huem de tel memoire,[7]
Salemun le sage, David qui[8] fist l'estoire,
Ke mult ne se glorifiast[9] d'aver si grant victoire
Cum cil lur prameteient;[10] mès tut fud veine gloire.
Ore ad li reis d'Escoce ses oz apparailliez,
A Keledeneleė[11] là furent asemblez.
Les greidles furent, ki dunc erent[12] amez,
Ki puis les unt de terre par force degetez.[13] *fo.* 144. *b.*
§De Ros e de Muraive[14] unt grant ost banie.

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[1] *N'averunt succurs n'aïe dedenz tresce luée,* L.

[2] D. reads *l'em*; L. has *l'um.*

[3] *issi m'est avis,* L.

[4] *einz que vingne,* L.

[5] *noz,* om. L.

[6] *enselée,* L.; with hair-strokes in D. thus: *ensééléé.*

[7] *memorie,* L.; all the lines which rhyme with this end in *orie* in L.

[8] *ne David ke,* L.

[9] *Que mult se glorifiad,* L.

[10] *Cum il lur premetteient,* L.

[11] *A Kaledene de gré,* L.

[12] *Les greilles vindrent ki dunc furent,* L.

[13] *Que puis les unt de terre par force enchacez,* L.

[14] *Murreve,* L.

"They will have nor succour nor aid within
"thirteen leagues.
450 "Thus should war be begun: such is my advice.
"First destroy the land and then one's foe.
"We will send him help from Flanders before
"fifteen days are over,
"By which these English will be rendered power-
"less."
As soon as count Philip had done his harangue,
King Louis of France wills it and assents,
And says to our messengers: "Soon will be sealed
"The charter that you will carry to your own
"country.
"Tell the king of Scotland without any delay,
"The land which he has demanded is all his own."
460 When these messengers had come and had landed,
Then were they perfectly sure to begin the war.
You might hear well enough, you need not seek
far:
"Let us go to take the castle of Wark in England."
Never was a man begotten of so high a mark—
[Not] Solomon the wise, [nor] David who wrote
the history—
As not to glory much in having so great a victory
As these promised him; but all was vain glory.
Now has the king of Scotland made ready his host,
There at Caldenlea [1] were they mustered.
470 It was the trumpets,[2] which were then held in
favour,
That afterwards drove them forcibly from the
land.
From Ross and Moray they have collected a great
host.

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[1] Probably Caldenlea in Selkirkshire.

[2] M. Vising proposes *graindres*—*amenez*; but *greidles* are here merely symbols of war.

Certes, le cunte Colbein ne s'i ublia mie.
Seignurs, le cunte d'Anegus[1] i vint od tel aïe,—
Plus de treis mile Escoz aveit en sa baillie.
Tant i out de nue gent, ne sai que plus vus die,
Ne vint tel ost d'Escoce puis le tens Helye.[2]
Dunc vint li reis Willame à Werc en Engleterre,
Un chastel en la marche ki puis li fist grant guerre,[3]
Travail[4] e peine, e suvent grant cuntraire.[5]
Enquist del cunestable cument il le volt faire,
Del tenir u del laissier, le quel li fust viaire.[6]
Rogier[7] d'Estutevile en fud le cunestable,
Ki unkes n'ama traïsun ne servir al diable.
E vit que li suen esforz de rien ne fud aidable[8]
Encuntre l'ost d'Escoce, qui mult les assaie,[9]
Ne de rendre sun chastel ne serrad nule[10] appaie.
Ne fud pas merveille[11] si dan Rogier s'esmaie.
Dunc prie[12] Deu le glorius e sa Mere veraie:
" Tel cunseil me dunez que jo m'onur aie,
" Kar li Escot me guerreient senz nule manaie."[13]
Rogier d'Estutevile parole à ses privez,
E dit: "Baruns, chevaliers, dites que vus loez.

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[1] *d'Anneguns*, L.
[2] *Helie*, L.
[3] *que puis li fist cuntraire*, L.
[4] *Taravail* (sic), D.
[5] L. omits this line.
[6] *u de laissier — meire*, L.
[7] *Roger*, here and elsewhere, L.
[8] *durable*, L.
[9] *Encuntre le ost d'Escoce, ki seit esteit aidable*, L.
[10] *le chastel ne ferad nul*, L.
[11] *merviellie*, L.
[12] *Dunc pri*, L.
[13] L. omits this line.

Of a surety the earl Colbein[1] forgot not to be there.
Lords, the earl of Angus[2] came there with such a contingent—
More than three thousand Scots he had in his command.
There were so many naked men there—I know not what more to tell you—
Never came such host from Scotland since the time of Elias.
Then came king William to Wark in England,
A castle in the marches which afterwards caused him great fighting,
480 Labour, and trouble, and often great reverses.
He asked the constable how he would act,
Whether he would hold it or surrender it—which course he would pursue.
Roger d'Estuteville was castellan,
Who never loved treason nor the devil's service.
He[3] saw that his force was not of any use
Against the host of Scotland, which vigorously assails them,
And that by surrendering his castle he would not obtain any terms.
It was no wonder if lord Roger were dismayed.
Then prays he God the glorious and his Mother true:
490 "Give me such advice that I may preserve my "honour,
"For the Scots attack me mercilessly."
Roger d'Estutevile[4] addresses his trusted friends
And says: "Barons, knights, say what you advise.

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[1] Colban, earl of Fife, Mr. Stevenson thinks.

[2] See Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. p. 62, as to Gilibrede, second earl of Angus.

[3] *E* is clearly wrong.

[4] Not referred to by Dugdale, but see Hodgson's Northumberland Pipe Rolls. He was sheriff from 1170 to 1185.

“ Veez l’ost le rei d’Escoce qui[1] nus ad desfiez;
“ E nus eimes escharniz dedenz ces fermetez,
“ N’aurum sucurs n’aïe de nul de noz judnez.”[2]
Dunc[3] regrette sun seignur, Henri le rei[4] vaillant;
Les lermes lung sa face li vunt jus devalant:
“ Mar fud vostre force, quant ore ies[5] nun “ poant,
“ Ne poez vostre barun aidier ne tant ne quant.
“ Irai al rei d’Escoce sa[6] triewe demandant,
“ Quarante jorz de terme, que seie mer passant.[7]
“ Si dunc ne me puis succurre par raisun en “ avant,
“ Perdu avez senz faille tute Northumberland.”
§Rogier d’Estutevile en vint[8] parler al rei,
Sages par humilité, senz faire nul desrei—
Tuz ceus de sa meisnée[9] se tindrent en cunrei— *fo.* 145.
E dit en sun[10] language: “ Sire, entendez à mei.
“ Ne me faites deshonur: refrenez vostre ire.
“ Mult aim vostre avancement, mès que[11] li “ miens n’enpire.
“ Quarante jorz de terme, ke seie mer passant, “ sire,[12]
“ Ke jo[13] enveie ultre mer mes briés dedenz “ cire;
“ U jo meïsmes i irrai, lequel voldrai eslire,
“ E dirrai à mun[14] seignur mar deit chanter ne “ rire.
“ Si Jesus n’en prent[15] cunrei, la gent de sun “ empire

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[1] *que*, L.
[2] *N’averum sucurs — uidnez*, L.
[3] *unc*, D.; *dunc*, L.
[4] *rei*, om. L.
[5] *ore est*, L.
[6] *sad*, D.; *sa*, L.
[7] *passa*, L.
[8] *en vint*, L.; *en vile*, D.
[9] *mesné*, L.
[10] *E dit a sun*, L.
[11] *mès ki*, L.
[12] *me dunez, bel sire*, L.
[13] *Que jeo*, L.
[14] *E dirai mun*, L.
[15] *Si Jesus ne prent*, L.

" Behold the host of the king of Scotland, who
" has defied us ;
" And we shall be derided within these strongholds,
" We shall have neither succour nor aid from our
" neighbours."
Then he bewails his lord, Henry the valiant king :
The tears go falling down along his face :
" In vain was thy strength since now thou art
" powerless,
500 " Nor canst aid thy baron in any way whatever.
" I will go to the king of Scotland asking for his
" truce,
" Forty days space that I may pass over seas.
" If then I cannot previously get help for myself
" in reasonable fashion,
" You will have infallibly lost all Northumber-
" land."
Roger d'Estuteville came to speak of it to the
king,
Wisely and humbly, without making any failure—
All those in his suite kept themselves in array—
And he said in his address : " Sire, listen to me.
" Do me no insult : restrain your wrath.
510 " Much I love your welfare, so long as mine own
" suffers not.
" Sire, the space of forty days [I ask] that I may
" cross the sea,
" That I may send my sealed letters beyond sea ;
" Or I myself will go there, whichever I may
" choose,
" And I will tell my lord it is no time for song
" or laughter.
" If Jesus takes no heed to it, he will not see the
" people of his kingdom,

“ Ne's verra, dès qu'il[1] serrunt tuz livrez à martire.”
Dunc vit li reis Willame Rogier en grant tristur,
Tute Northumberlant travaillié à dolur.
N'i ad ki cuntrestoise[2] ne lui ne sa vigur.
Bien ad graanté le terme al quarantime jor.
Ore dit Jordan Fantosme[3] que Deus les avua:
Tuz ceus de Northumberlant ki furent de delà,
Ne fust icele triewe ke Rogier demanda,
Chaciez fussent de terre par ces d'Albania.
Mès le sage chevalier ki sun[4] seignur ama
Apreste ses messages, il meïsmes s'aturna,
Alad en Engleterre, succurs en demanda,
Ke dedenz[5] sun terme tel ost en amena
Dunt puis al rei d'Escoce plein cungié li duna
D'asaillir le[6] de ses Flamens,—e il les atendra.
§Dunc dit li reis Willame: “ Oëz, mi chevalier.
“ Par mi Northumberland voil mun chemin aler.
“ N'i ad ki cuntrestoise, k'i devom[7] dunc duter?
“ L'evesque de Durealme[8]—veiz-ci sun messagier—
“ Me mande par ses lettres em pès se volt ester.
“ Par lui ne par sa force n'aurom[9] desturbier,
“ Dunt jo me puisse plaindre, vaillant un[10] denier.

Truce with the bishop of Durham (13 Jan. 1174).

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[1] *tresqu'il*, L.
[2] *N'i ad ki l' cuntrestoisse*, L.
[3] *Fantome*, L.
[4] *ke sun*, L.
[5] *Ki dedenz*, L.
[6] *D'asaillier li*, L.
[7] *N'i ad qui l' cuntre estoise, ke devum*, L.
[8] *Le evesque de Dureaume*, L.
[9] *n'averum*, L.
[10] *plendre la munte d'un*, L.

" For they will all be given up to martyrdom."
Then king William saw Roger in great sadness,
All Northumberland tormented with grief.
There is none who may oppose him or his strength.
520 Willingly he granted the term until the fortieth day.
Now says Jordan Fantosme that God took up their cause:
All those of Northumberland who were beyond [Wark ?]—
Were it not for the truce which Roger sought—
Would have been driven from the land by those of Albany.
But the wise knight who loved his lord
Makes ready his messengers; he accoutred himself,
Went to England and asked there for help,
So that within the appointed time he brought such a host
That he gave then the king of Scotland full permission
530 To assail him with his Flemings — and he will await them.
Then said king William: " Hear, my knights.
" Through the midst of Northumberland I wish to " take my way.
" There is none who can oppose us, whom then " should we fear ?
" The bishop of Durham[1]—see here his messenger—
" Informs me by his letters that he desires to be at " peace.
" We shall not have trouble of which I could " complain
" Either from him or his forces, worth a penny.

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[1] This is Hugh de Puiset. He made this truce on 13 Jan., 1174, until 31 March. *Benedict.*, i. 64.

" Alum vers Audnewic, si me volez[1] loer,
" A Willame de Vesci ke jo ne puis mater.[2]
" Si le chastel sun pere me volt quite clamer,[3]
" Senz perdre de ses membres dunc le larrai " aler;
" U se il la cuvenance me volt afiancier
" Ke fist le cunestable de Werc avant-ier, *fo.* 145. *b.*
" Senz guarisun[4] atraire e senz rien esforcier,
" Alum à Werckewrde, cel voil[5] agraventer."
Atant si irrum à Audnewic le grant ost d'Albanie;[6]
Mès[7] Willame de Vedci ne s'i ubblia[8] mie.
Suvent apele par amur sainte Paterne aïe.
Plus regrette sun seignur que chevalier s'amie,
E dit: "Baruns, chevaliers," à ceus de sa baillie,
" Suvent vaut en busuin saveir e folie.
" Ore vienge chascun de vus, sun avis nus en " die,
" Cument nus nus cuntendrum vers l'ost qui " nus[9] desfie?"
§Mult esteit le pere joius en sun curage,
Ki bon fiz engendre, tut seit ço en[10] suignantage:
Pur le jofne Willame le di en mun language,
Ki[11] le chastel sun pere tint par vasselage.
Parti s'en li reis atant, n'i fist plus[12] lung estage,
E cil enveia pur succurs ses briés e sun message.
Pernent e destruient la terre vers la mer
Chevalier e serjant e li autre furier.

---

[1] *se me vulez*, L.
[2] *ke jeo ne puis amer*, L.
[3] *Si le chastel sun pere me volt cuntre clamer*, L.; D. reads *si ne chastel.*
[4] *Sanz guarnisun*, L.
[5] *Werewrde, cel ruuil*, L.
[6] *de Albanie*, L.
[7] *Mes*, om. L.
[8] *Vesci ne se ublia*, L.
[9] *que nus*, L.
[10] *ceo en sun antage*, L.
[11] *Que*, L.
[12] *Parti li reis, ne fist plus*, L.

" Let us go towards Alnwick, if you will advise
" me so,
" To William de Vesci[1] whom I am unable to love.[2]
540 " If he will quit-claim to me his father's castle
" Then I will let him go without loss of limb;
" Or if he will make the same covenant with me
" As the constable of Wark made the day before
" yesterday,
" Without gathering provisions, and without
" strengthening anything,
" Let us proceed to Warkworth, that I wish to
" demolish."
Then the great host of Albany went to Alnwick;
But William de Vesci by no means forgot to be
there.
Often he calls for aid, for love of the Holy Father.
More he bewails his lord than a knight his mistress,
550 And says: " Barons, knights," to those of his command,
" Wisdom and folly are often good at need.
" Now let each of you come and tell his views as
" to this,
" How we shall contend against the host which
" defies us?"
Very glad at heart was the father
To have begotten a good son, albeit not in wedlock:
Of young William I say it,
Who held his father's castle as a vassal.
Then the king departed, there made he no longer
stay,
And the former sent his letters and a messenger
for help.
560 Knights and sergeants and the rest of the pillagers
Occupy and ravage the country towards the sea.

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[1] Sheriff of Northumberland. Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., p. 56.

[2] The Lincoln MS. is here followed.

Vienent à Werkewde,[1] n'i deignent arester,
Kar le chastel iert fieble, le mur e le terrier,[2]
E Rogier le fiz Richart,[3] un vaillant chevalier,
565 L'aveit ëu en guarde; mès il ne l' pot guarder.
§De cel Rogier le fiz Richart vus dei-jo bien dire:
Del Noef-Chastel[4]-sur-Tine esteit mestre e sire.
Tant esteit de hardement espris e de grant ire,
Ne volt au rei d'Escoce de pais parler ne rire.[5]
570 Là vint li reis d'Escoce od armée gent e nue:
Les munz e les valées redutent sa venue.
La sue grant folie mar fud unkes vëue,
As baruns de la terre serrad mult chier vendue:
Il lur ferad ainz[6] departir tele descuvenue,
575 Ne lur larrad dehors chastel un buef à lur charue.
Mès li barun sunt naturel vers lur seignurage,
Ne tienent greinur plait d'aveir que de beste salvage.[7]
Mielz vuelent murir à honur que suffrir[8] huntage,
Guerpir lur naturel seignur pur perdre lur guaignage. *fo.* 146.
580 Sufferunt e atendrunt, de ço si funt que sage;
Mès lur chastels ne rendrunt pur aver grant[9] damage.
§Bien veit li reis d'Escoce que jà n'i mettra fin
Del Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine cunquerre senz engin;
E dient si cunseillier: "Mar aiez le chief enclin.

---

[1] *Werkewrde*, L.

[2] *tarier*, L.

[3] *Roger le fiz Richard*, and below, L.

[4] *De Nof-Chastel*, L.

[5] *rire.* Thus D. and L. M. Michel reasonably amends *lire*.

[6] *ainz*, om. L.

[7] *que beste salvage*, L.

[8] *ke de suffrir*, L.

[9] *ne rendrent pur ver lur grant*, L.

They come to Warkworth, nor deign to stay there,
For the castle was weak, the wall and the trench,
And Roger Fitz Richard,[1] a valiant knight,
Had had it in keeping; but he could not defend it.
Of this Roger Fitz Richard I certainly ought to tell you:
He was master and lord of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
So possessed was he with courage and great anger
He would neither speak of peace to the king of Scotland nor read of it.
570 Thither came the king of Scotland with armed men and naked:
The hills and the valleys dread his approach.
In an evil hour was his great folly ever seen.
To the barons of the land it will be sold very dear:
He will before leaving cause them such misfortune
That he will not leave them outside the castle an ox to their plough.
But the barons are loyal towards their lord,
They have no greater love of proprietorship than a wild beast has.
They prefer honourable death to suffering shame
[Or] abandoning their natural lord, though they lose their lands,
580 They will endure and wait, in that they do but what is wise;
But their castles they will not give up though they may suffer great damage.
Well sees the king of Scotland that he will never complete
The conquest of Newcastle-on-Tyne without military engines;
And his advisers say: "Wrongly do you hang your
"head.

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[1] See Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II.: "*In terris datis Rogero filio Ricardi . .*
"*in Burgo Novi Castelli.*"

“ Ainz que sucurs lur vienge, tuit en serrunt “ frarin ;[1]
“ Mès faites l'ost sumundre, ke prest[2] seit le “ matin.
“ Alez Karduil cunquerre, dunt nus sumes[3] devin,
“ Jà n'aura Robert de Vaus si bon sabelin,
“ Ne mangié la viende, ne bëu de tel vin.
“ Quant verra tanz beaus escuz, tanz healmes “ Peitevins,
“ Ne volsist en l'eschekier devenir un aufin.”[4]
Ço[5] dit li reis Willame : “ Dunc seie-jo maldit,[6]
“ Escumengié de prestre, huniz, e descunfit,
“ Si jo le chastel Odinel duins terme ne respit,
“ Ainz li ferai tut perdre sa joie e sun delit.
“ Li cuens Henri mun pere le cherid e nurrit ;
“ Mès à la[7] parestrusse dirrad que mar me vit,
“ Kar cil en qui il se fie[8] li valdrad mult petit,
“ De la sue aïe li faz un escundit.”[9]
Là fist li reis d'Escoce tendre ses paveilluns,
Ses trefs e[10] ses acubes, ses cuntes, ses baruns,

---

[1] L. omits this line.

[2] *perest*, L.

[3] *sumus*, L.

[4] These four lines, *Ja n'aura—aufin*, are not in L.

[5] *Ceo*, L.

[6] *sei-jo maldit*, L.

[7] *la*, om. L.

[8] *il s'afie*, L.

[9] L. omits this line.

[10] *e*, om. L.

" Before assistance comes to them they will all be
" wretched;
" But cause the host to be summoned that it may
" be ready in the morning.
" Go conquer Carlisle of which we prophecy,[1]
" Never shall Robert de Vaus[2] have such good
" sable,
" Nor eat meat, nor drink such good wine.
590 " When he sees so many handsome shields, so many
" Poitevin helmets,
" Would he not wish to become a bishop[3] on the
" chess-board."
Thus said king William: "Then may I be ac-
" cursed,
" Excommunicated by priest, put to shame, and
" discomfited,
" If I give the castle of Odinel[4] a fixed time or
" respite,
" But I will cause him wholly to lose his joy and
" delight.
" Earl Henry,[5] my father, loved and nourished him;
" But finally he will say that he saw me by evil
" chance,
" For he in whom he trusts will avail him very
" little,
" He excuses himself from rendering his aid."
600 There the king of Scotland caused his earls, and
his barons to pitch
His pavilions, his tents, and his marquees,[6]

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[1] An interpretation offered with reserve.

[2] See *Bened. Petrob.*, i. 64.

[3] *Aufin*, or *alfin*, a word of oriental origin. See G. F. Burguy's *Glossaire de la langue d'Oïl.*

[4] Odinel de Humfraville. Prudhoe was his castle. See *Bened. Petrob.*, i. 65.

[5] Henry, father of William the Lion, was son of David I. He died before his father.

[6] The passage seems corrupt.

E dit à sun barnage: "Seignurs, ke là[1] ferums?
"Tant cum esteusse Prudhume, jamès pès n'aurums."[2]
Ço dient li Flameng: "Nus l'agraventerums,
"U mar nus durrez soldeies ne livreisuns."
E dit l'autre partie: "Jamès n'en parlerums.
"De feire nul enprise[3] ne li cumsentirums;[4]
"Mès voist avant cunquerre, e nus li aiderums.
"Northumberland est nostre, quant nus repairerums."
§—"Sire rei d'Escoce," dient si cunseillier,
"De tutes voz dreitures est Karduil le dangier;
"E puis que le jofne rei vus volt del tut duner,
"Alez le chief cunquerre, bien le volum[5] loer,
"E si Robert de Vaus ne volt le chief duner,
"De la grant tur antive ferez le[6] devaler. *fo.* 146. *b.*
"Faites-i mettre siege, e puis après jurer
"Vostre grant ost banie n'en partira premier
"Desque[7] vus aiez la cité vëu alumer,
"Le mestre-mur desfaire à voz picois d'acier,
"A unes hautes furches lui-meïsmes encroer.
"Dunc verrez Robert de Vaus estreitement aler;
"Par le mien escient, ne l' troverez[8] tant fier
"Qu'il vus peussed[9] lungement par force cuntrester."
Et dit li reis Willame: "Si Deu nus volt aidier,
"Cest conseil est metable, si l' feimes achiever."
La nuit fait ses guaites sun ost eschielguaitier,[10]
Desqu'al demein al aube quant jor apparut cler,

---

[1] *là*, om. L.

[2] *Tant cume cest chastel estoise, jà pès ne averums*, L.

[3] *tel emprise*, L.

[4] Thus in D.; *ne li consenterums*, L.

[5] *ben le vus vulum*, L.

[6] *le ferez*, L.

[7] *Tresque*, L.

[8] *ne le troverez*, L.

[9] *puisset*, L.

[10] *waites sun ost eschewaiter*, L.

And he said to his nobility: "Lords, what shall
"we do?
"So long as Prudhoe remains we shall never have
"peace."
Thus say the Flemings: "We will demolish it,
"Or wrongly will you give us pay and rations."
And the other party said: "We will never speak
"of it.
"We will not consent to his making such an
"attempt;
"But let him advance to conquer and we will
"assist him.
"When we shall return Northumberland is ours."
610 "Sire, king of Scotland," say his councillors,
"Of all your rights Carlisle is the most absolute;
"And, since that the young king wills to give you
"all,
"Go and conquer the principal [town], we strongly
"advise it,
"And if Robert de Vaus will not surrender the
"capital,
"Have him cast down from the great old tower.
"Lay siege to it, and then cause your vast collected
"host
"To swear not to leave before you have seen the
"city set on fire,
"And the principal wall demolished by your steel
"pickaxes,
620 "[And de Vaus] himself hung up to a high gallows.
"Then will you see Robert de Vaus slink off;
"Certainly you will not find him so bold
"As to be able to resist you forcibly for long."
And king William said: "If God will help us,
"This plan is advisable, so let us carry it out."
At night he made his sentinels keep watch over
his host,
Till the morrow at dawn when the day appeared
clear,

Qu'il fist suner ses greidles pur faire l'ost aler,
E destendent acubes serjant e escuier.
Vait s'en li reis Willame uoc son[1] grant barnage ;
Mes anceis qu'il repairent en lur terre salvage,
Des Engleis d'Engleterre aurunt fait[2] tel damage,
Mil i larrunt les testes pur[3] lur meïsmes hostage,
Kar felun sunt en guerre e mult de fol curage.
A ceus est bien apparissant trovez en lur veage.
Icil qui sunt acunsëuz[4] en plein u en boscage
Ne cunterunt[5] mès novele à nul de lur lignage.
Bien sout li reis d'Escoce ses enemis guerreier[6]
E suvent en[7] guerre grever e damagier ;
Mès trop fud acustumé de cunseilz noveler.
La gent estrange chierisseit, amot e teneit chier ;[8]
La sue gent demeine ne volt unkes amer,
Ki lui e sun[9] reaume deveient cunseillier.
Bien i parut en haste, jà m'en orrez parler,
Cum avint de sa guerre par malveis cunseillier.
Li reis fait sa gent apparaillier ;
A ceus dedenz ferad assaut plenier.

---

[1] *oue sun*, L.
[2] *averunt fait*, L.
[3] *pur*, D. L.
[4] *Iscil ke sunt consëuz*, L.
[5] *Ne cunterent*, L.
[6] *d'Escoce adunkes guerreier*, L.
[7] *Ses enemis en*, L.
[8] *cheriseit a molt cher*, L.
[9] *que lui e sun*, L.

When he caused his trumpets to sound to put his army in motion,
And sergeants and esquires strike the tents.
630 King William departs with his great nobles ;
But before they return to their wild country,
They will have done such damage to the English of England
That a thousand there will leave their heads as hostages,
For they are cruel in war and very fool-hardy.
This is very plain to those found in their path.
Those who are caught in plain or in wood
Will never relate stories to any of their descendants.
Well knows the king of Scotland how to fight his foes
And to harass and damage them frequently in warfare ;
640 But he was too much given to taking new advice.
Foreigners he cherished, loved, and held dear ;
His own proper people he never would love,
Who ought to advise him and his kingdom.
This appeared soon, now you will hear me speak of it,
What became of his campaign through bad advice.[1]
The king makes his people get ready ;
He will make a great assault on those within.

---

[1] The marked change of metre in the passage which follows as far as line 765 has led MM. Rose, Koschwitz, and Vising to regard it as an interpolation, but the reasons assigned by the latter author seem to have but little weight. Take, for example, his inquiry, "Est-il vraisemblable qu'un chanoine Anglais "aille les sauver des mains des "Anglais ?" Considering the position of northern barons like Roger de Mowbray, who actually fought against the English, and of churchmen like Hugh bishop of Durham (l. 534), who promised neutrality, we see that the case of an isolated canon—sent probably from some Augustinian priory to rid the neighbourhood of the Scotch by fear of the coming host—can have no significance. The change, too, from the future to the past tense in lines 695, 696, to which M. Vising objects, is characteristic of Fantosme.

Attack on Carlisle (about August 1173).

Grant fud la noise al estur cumencier.
Li fer tentissent, e cruissent li acier :
Ne hauberc ne healmes guaires n'i remist entier.[1]
Le jor i furent cil dedenz chevalier : *fo.* 147.
Od lur espées funt maint escu estroer,[2]
Asez en laissent lez le mur estraier[3]
Ki n'orent[4] pas leisir pur relever.
Dès ore cuvient à ceus dedenz aidier,
L'estur suffrir e les escuz damagier,
Lur barbecan tenir e chalengier :
Jà nul cuart ne lur aureit[5] mestier.
§A[6] la porte out grant envaïssement :
Des ambesdous[7] parz out grant aïrement.
Là veïssiez tanz chevaliers sanglant,
Tant bon vassal de[8] mal talent.
Li fer tentissent e vunt comunalment.
Robert de Vaus se defendeit forment :
Le fiz Odart[9] ne li failli nïent.
Pur sun seignur enprist grant hardement
De sei tenir encuntre tant de gent—
Quarante mile, si Fantosme[10] ne ment.
N'i ad celui ne l' hace mortelment.
§ A, Deu ! quel duel del gentil rei Guillame.
Del rei Henri aura si[11] mortel blasme ;
Ço peise mei, par le barun saint Jacme !
Kar plus franc ne guverna unc[12] realme.
Fantosme dit e bien le vus[13] afie,
Ne se pensast à nul jor de sa vie
De guerreier Henri de Normendie,

---

[1] L. omits this line.

[2] *escu troer*, L.

[3] *estraer*, L.

[4] *Ke n'ourent*, L.

[5] *avereit*, L.

[6] L. by mistake has *I* for *A* here.

[7] *De ambedeus*, L.

[8] *vassal ferer de*, L.; D. omits *ferer*.

[9] *Odard*, L.

[10] *se Fantome*, L.

[11] *avera si*, L.

[12] *unc*, om. L.

[13] *vus*, both in D. and L.

Great was the noise at the beginning of the combat.
The swords resound and the steel crashes :
650 Scarcely a hauberk or helmet there remained whole.
That day the garrison were knights :
With their swords they made holes in many a shield,
Enough of them they leave stretched beside the walls
Whom [1] they have no time to pick up.
Henceforward it is fitting for those within to help themselves,
To endure the combat and injure the shields,
To hold and defend their barbican :
No coward would have any use there.
At the gate there was a great assault :
660 On both sides there was great fury.
There you might see so many blood-stained knights,
So many good vassals in angry mood.
The swords clash and intermingle.
Robert de Vaus defended himself bravely :
FitzOdard [2] in no way failed him.
For his lord he undertook great deeds of daring
In maintaining himself against so many people—
Forty thousand, if Fantosme tells the truth.
There is no one who does not mortally hate him.
670 Oh God ! what sorrow for the gentle king William.
From king Henry he will have such deadly reproaches;
By brave Saint James this grieves me,
For a nobler man never governed a kingdom.
Fantosme says it, and well assures you of it,
That he would never any day of his life
Dream of fighting Henry of Normandy,

---

[1] Following the Lincoln MS.
[2] Perhaps John FitzOdard. See Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 23 (Northumberland).

Le fiz Mahaut, ki ad la char hardie;[1]
Mès par cunseil e par malveis envie
Puet l'um un sage hume[2] mettre en grant folie.
§ Mès puis qu'il out la chose si enprise,
Ne l' pot laissier si par grant[3] cuardise.
Pais à tenir cumande à saint Iglise:
Des enfreignurs en[4] fait cruel justise.
Mès ne li valt cel un sul alie.
La pute gent, ke Damne-Deu maldie!
Les [Gualeis],[5] ki d'aveir unt envie,
E li Escot, qui sunt en Albanie, *fo.* 147. *b.*
Ne portent fei à Deu le fiz Marie;
Brisent mustiers e funt grant roberie.
§ Mult se sunt mis li barun en grant peine,
Ki lur honurs teneient del rei demeine.
Pur lur seignur unt grant dolur certeine:
Ses enemis lur unt dunez estreine.[6]
Si Deu n'en penst—e Marie Magdaleine,
Grant guerre aurunt ki[7] mult lur iert griffaine.
La terre qui[8] ert de tanz biens si pleine,
De tuz aveirs est ore fade e veine.
N'i ad beivre fors ewe de funteine
U sout aveir cerveise en la semeine.
§ E tut est fait par le rei d'Aubanie,
Par sun cunseil e par sa grant folie.[9]
Mès ore li creist grant perte senz faillie,
N'en partira senz aver vilanie.
Cil[10] del chastel aurunt prueçain[11] aïe;
Si vait de gent qui en[12] Damne-Deu se fie.

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[1] *Mahut, qui la char ad hardie*, L.
[2] *hume*, om. L.
[3] *grant*, om. L.
[4] *en*, om. L.
[5] *Gualeis*, L.; a word of similar length has been erased roughly from D.
[6] *duné grant estreine*, L.
[7] *averunt ke*, L.
[8] *que*, L.
[9] *grant lecherie*, L.
[10] *Cels*, L.
[11] *averunt procein*, L.
[12] *gent qu'en*, L.

The son of Maud, who has the bold countenance ;
But by counsel and evil desire
One may make a wise man act foolishly.
680 But since he had thus undertaken the affair
He could not leave it except through great cowardice.
He orders peace to be kept towards Holy Church :
He does cruel justice on those who infringe it.
But that does not matter a single berry[1] to him.
The vile race, whom may the Lord God curse !
The Welsh, who long for booty,
And the Scots, who are in Albany,
Have no faith in God the son of Mary,
Break open monasteries and perpetrate great robberies.
690 The barons who held their estates from the king himself
Put themselves to great trouble.
They assuredly have great grief for their lord :
His enemies have given them a handsel.
If God thinks not of it—and Mary Magdalene—
They will have great war which will be very cruel to them.
The land which was so full of such prosperity
Is now sad, and devoid of all riches.
There is no drink but spring water,
Where they were wont to have beer during the week.
700 And all is done by the king of Albany,
By his advice and by his great folly.
But now great loss certainly accrues to him,
He will not depart without being insulted.
Those of the castle will have speedy assistance ;
So goes it with those who trust in the Lord God.

---

[1] Modern French *alize*, the berry of the alder. M. Burguy quotes "baston *d'alie*" (Roncisv. p. 116), which refutes the derivation from *allium*.

Oëz, seignurs, qu'avint[1] de trop ultrage,
Ke lur avint d'Escoce la salvage.
Bel fud lu tens senz[2] nul malveis orage;
Li reis d'Escoce esteit de fier curage,
Chevalier bon e de grant vasselage.
De devant lui vint errant un message,
Chanuine fud, si saveit le language:[3]
Hastivement li cunta sun damage.
§Li reis esteit dedenz sun paveillun,
Li eschielguaite delez,[4] e envirun
Ses chamberlens e si privé druiun,[5]
Là ù li mès lur dist itel sermun
Dunt puis furent mëuz en tençun.
§Li mès lur ad trestut cunté,
Cum aveit vëu la gent armé,[6]

Advance of Richard de Luci against the Scotch (about October, 1173).

Des chevaliers la grant fierté[7]
Ki[8] l'assaudrunt ainz le soleil levé.
" Cil de Luci, le sage, le sené, *fo.* 148.
" Ainz mie-nuit serrad as voz justé.[9]
" Guardez-vus-ent,[10] pur Deu de majesté,
" Ke ne seiez huni ne vergundé.
" Tut le mielz de vostre parenté
" S'en vient od lui: chascun li ad juré.
" Creez cunseil, le mielz vus est duné,
" A Rokesburc[11] alez à sëurté.
" Si vus i estes plus lunges aresté,
" Male chançun serrad de vus chanté.
" Unques ne fist Tiebaut de Balesgué

---

[1] *que avint*, L.; *qu'avient*, D.

[2] *Bel tens fu sanz*, L.

[3] *si saveit bien le langage*, L.

[4] *Li eschealwaiite de leez*, L.

[5] *e ses privez drugun*, L.

[6] *Cum il aveit vëu la grant fierté*, L.

[7] *Des chivalers e de la gent armé*, L.

[8] *Que*, L.

[9] *as voz justé*, D.; *ad voz ajusté*, L.

[10] *Guardez-nus-ent*, D.; in the same line *del*, L., for *de*.

[11] *A Rokeburc*, L. Thus elsewhere.

Hear, lords, what happened from excessive outrage,
What befel them from Scotland the wild.
Fair was the weather without any heavy storm;
The king of Scotland was of proud courage,
A good knight and of great prowess.
Into his presence came a messenger wandering,
A canon he was, and he knew the language:
With haste he related his wrong.
The king was within his pavilion,
The sentinels beside him, and around him
His chamberlains and his private friends,
There where the messenger made them this speech,
By which they were afterwards moved to dispute.
The messenger had recounted everything to them,
How he had seen the armed people,
And the great pride of the knights
That would assault him before sunrise.
"He of Lucy, the wise, the prudent,
"Before midnight will have approached you.
"Beware of it, by the God of Majesty,
"That you be not put to shame and disgraced.
"All the best of your relations
"Approach with him: each has sworn to him.
"Trust advice, the best is given you,
"Go to Roxburgh, to safety.
"If you delay any longer here,
"An evil song will be sung of you.
"Never did Thibault of Balesgué[1]

---

[1] M. Michel's note is interesting: "The romance, to which Fantosme "alludes here, was well known in "England. In a certificate or "memoir concerning some books "found, in the third year of Edward "I.'s reign, we find this mention of "it: 'Le Romaunce Willeame de "'Orenges et Tabaud de Arable.' "*Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 12, "N° XXIII. A copy of it was bequeathed by Guy Beauchamp, "earl of Warwick, to the abbey of "Bordesley, in Worcestershire, "May 1st, 34 Edward I. or III. "See our *Tristan*, vol. I., p. cxxi., "l. 2.

"Fantosme's allusion and the fol-

" Si mal eschec à ceus de France né
735 " Cum vus ferrunt li Surreis[1] aduré,
" Si vus e els estes entre-asemblé." [2]
Li reis l'entent, forment s'en est iré.
Senz demurer saint Andreu ad juré,
" Tuz asëur i sumes aresté: [3]
740 " Ne lur serrad bataille deveé. [4]
" Bien deit prudhume cunquerre s'erité.
" Mes ancestres d'Escoce le regné[5]
" Icest honur tindrent en quieté
" Par cel Seignur que l'um requiert à pié,
745 " E jo l' tendrai del rei mun avué,
" Le fiz al pere ki mes[6] dreiz m'ad duné,
" En mun vivant n'en perderai plein pié."
Jà s'ëust sun ost bien amonesté
Quant un cunseil li est des suens duné:
750 " Cum il volsist mès estre honuré,
" Laissast le siege e alast s'en de gré."
Si fist-il veir: n'i fud plus demuré.
De nul des suens n'i ot redne tiré.
A Rokesburc, ù il ainz unt esté,
755 S'en vint de nuiz cum cil qui fud[7] hasté.
N'i out un sul de sun ost aresté
Ne s'en alast par mult grant lascheté,
Senz ço que[8] lur fust nul assaut duné

The Scotch retreat to Roxburgh.

---

[1] *Sureis*, L.
[2] *entresemblé*, L.
[3] *sumus aresté*, L.
[4] *bataille vee*, L.
[5] *regnée*, L.
[6] *ke mes*, L.
[7] *ke fud*, L.
[8] *Sant ceo ke*, L.

" Give so great check to the natives of France
" As the hardy Southerners will give you,
" If you and they meet each other."
The king hears him and is much enraged.
He swore at once by Saint Andrew,
" We are quite safe in remaining here :
740 " Battle will not be refused them.
" A brave man ought certainly to conquer his
inheritance.
" My ancestors of the kingdom of Scotland
" Peacefully held that fief
" From that Lord to whom one prays standing,
" And I will hold it of the king who guards my
" rights,
" The son of the father who has given me my
" rights,
" And while I live I will not lose a single foot of
" it."
Already he would have well aroused his host,
When a suggestion is made to him by his men :
750 " As he still wished to be honoured,
" He should quit the siege and go away of his own
" free will."
So did he indeed ; he remained there no longer.
By none of his men was there a rein drawn.
To Roxburgh, where they had been before,
They went by night like those in haste.
There was not a single one of his host who stayed,
Or went not away through sheer cowardice,
Without having been attacked

" lowing lines, taking from a poem " of the 12th century, show its " antiquity :

" Mais une merveille veoit
" Qui poïst faire grant paor
" Au plus hardi combateor
" De toz ices que nos savons,
" Se fust *Thiebauz li Esclavons*
" Ou Opiniax ou Fernaguz, etc.

" (*Le Roman d'Erec et d'Enide*, " MS. of the Royal Library, No. " 7498⁴, Cangé 26, fol. 41 verso, " col. 2, l. 26.)"

fo. 148. b.

Ne escrié, ne de rien damagié.
760 Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace.
De ces fuiz grant aveir en purchace;
Mès, ki k'en peist u nul malgré li sace,[1]
De lur aveir esforcerad sa place.
Croche le pié e estent sa pigace,
765 Mercie Deu e prie e que[2] pas ne l' hace.
§ Ore chevalche asëur le grant ost d'Engleterre.
Li sires Richart de Luci, nul meillur n'estuet querre,
Bien aidet à maintenir sun seignur[3] sa guerre,
E si set en busuine triewes e pais requerre
770 Là ù il veit la force e li estuet requerre.[4]
Chevalche[5] en la terre destruite e guastée:
Ço est Northumberland qui jà iert renumée.[6]
De si qu'as porz d'Espaine n'aveit itel cuntrée
Ne plus large viandier ne gent plus honurée.
775 Ore est en grant famine: devient anientée[7]
Si del rei d'Engleterre aïe ne seit dunée.
Suspire e purpense cument ele est alée,
E maldit la guerre, quand jà fud cumenciée;[8]
Puis pense en sun curage, si Damnes-Deus l'agrée,[9]
780 Par lui e par sa force d'aukes[10] serrad vengée,
E[11] par les pruedhumes ki sunt de la cuntrée,
Ki[12] forment desirent de vengier lur haschée.
§ Li sires Humfrei de Boün est mult de grant cuintise:
Al ainz[13] qu'il pot espuruner s'en part de la justise,

---

[1] *l'en sace*, L.
[2] *e prie ke*, L.
[3] *sun seignur a meintenir*, L.
[4] *faire*, L.
[5] Not *E chivalche*, the *C* has been repeated by the copyist, thus: *C chivalche*, L.
[6] *que jà fud renomée*, L.
[7] *famine del tuit anientée*, L.; D. may be read *de nïent anientée*.
[8] *cumencié*, L.
[9] *le grée*, L.
[10] *de alques*, L.
[11] L. omits *E*.
[12] *Que*, L.
[13] *A einz*, L.

Or shouted at, or damaged in any way.
760 Robert de Vaus was the gainer in this chase.
He obtained great wealth from these fugitives ;
But no matter who is displeased at it or bears him ill will for it,
He will reinforce his position with their property.
Bends his foot and extends his sleeve,[1]
Thanks God and prays that He will not hate him.
Now the great host of England rides secure.
The lord Richard de Lucy—no better need be sought—
He well aids his lord to maintain his war,
And at need he knows how to ask for truces and peace
770 Where he sees force and there is want of them.
He rides in the ravaged and wasted country—
That is Northumberland, which formerly was renowned.
From here as far as the passes of Spain there was no such country
Nor one more plentiful in provisions, nor a more honoured race.
Now it is in extreme famine: it is reduced to nothing
If aid be not given by the king of England.
He sighs and considers how it is fallen into decay,
And curses the war, since it has already begun ;
Then thinks in his heart, if the Lord God pleases,
780 It will be in a little time avenged by him and his forces,
And by the brave men who are of the country,
Who strongly desire to avenge their suffering.
The lord Humphrey de Bohun is a man of great discretion :
As soon as he can spur he leaves the justiciary,

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[1] Strictly an ornament worn on a sleeve. The text at this point is obviously faulty.

785 Ço est dan Richart de Luci ki tut[1] le munde prise.
Ne volt le rei d'Escoce irer en nule guise,
Kar un sun message noveles li devise—
Venuz fud en la terre, ki lur mettrad asise.

The earl of Leicester lands (29 September, 1173).

Li cuens de Leircestre la chose si ad emprise
790 Od Flamens[2] e od Franceis e od gent devers Frise,
Aturnerad Engleterre tut à sa cumandise.
§ "Deus!" fait Richard de Luci,[3] "cum sui en grant "errance!
"Si li reis d'Escoce sëust ceste faisance
"N'en aurium pais ne triewe pur tut l'aveir de "France:
795 "Ne lui estëust faire, s'il n'iert de grant enfance." *fo.* 149.
Chevalche e espurune, si ad el cuer[4] pesance,
Mès anceis qu'il pëust avenir à parler en[5] oiance
Al rei d'Aubanie ne faire[6] sa fesance,
Ad dan Humfrei[7] de Boün ki hardement avance
800 Fait au rei d'Escoce de Berewic nuisance.
§ Mult iert de grant affaire dan Humfrei de Boün,
Li barun de Northumberlant en sunt si cumpaignun;

Burning of Berwick (about October, 1173).

Arstrent tut[8] Berewic à flambe e à tisun
E une grant partie de terres[9] envirun,
805 Ke perent en lur marches cruel cume leun.
Mès dan Richard de Luci n'ad suin de tel sermun,
Si[10] dit en sun language sire Humfrei de Boün,
[Li barun de Northumberland en sunt si cumpaignun][11]

---

[1] *danz Richard — que tuit,* L.
[2] *E od Flamencs,* L.
[3] *de Luce,* L.
[4] *al quor,* L.
[5] *e,* L.
[6] *faite,* L.
[7] *Unfrei,* below *Umfrei,* L.
[8] *Artrunt tuit,* L.
[9] *E un — des teres,* L.
[10] *Si,* D. L.
[11] This line, which is 802 repeated in error, is not in L.

That is lord Richard de Lucy, whom all the world esteems.
He did not wish to irritate in any way the king of Scotland,
For one of his messengers tells him news—
One had come to the country who will besiege them.
The earl of Leicester has undertaken the affair thus
790 With Flemings and with French and with men [from] the direction of Friesland,
He will turn England about wholly at his order.
" God," quoth Richard de Lucy, "in what great " distress I am !
" If the king of Scotland knew this that is doing
" We should have neither peace nor truce for all " the possessions of France :
" Nor would he do it, were he not a great child."
He rides and spurs : he is heavy at heart,
But, before he could get to speak in audience
To the king of Albany or do his business,
Lord Humphrey de Bohun, who boldly advances,
800 Had caused the king of Scotland the loss of Berwick.
Lord Humphrey de Bohun had a great business in hand,
The barons of Northumberland are his comrades in it;
They burn all Berwick with flame and brand
And a great part of the surrounding country,
[So] that they appear in their march cruel as lions.
But lord Richard de Lucy has no care for such narration,
So lord Humphrey de Bohun says in his language—
[*The barons of Northumberland are his comrades in it*[1]]

---

[1] See note [11] on the opposite page.

“ A ! si Deu n'en prenge[1] cure, n'i frum si perdre
“ nun.”
§ “ Sire Humfrei de Boün,” fait Richart de Luci,
[“ Ne s'en alast par mult grant lascheté,
“ Sanz ço que lur fust nul assaut duné
“ Ne escrié ne de rien damagié :
“ Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace][2]
“ Alum[3] al rei d'Escoce pur crier lui merci
“ De tenir pais e triewe[4] vers nostre rei Henri.
“ Li plusur d'Engleterre li sunt trestuit failli.
“ Savez-vus les noveles que nus avoms oï ?

Richard de Luci proposes a truce.

“ Li cuens de Leircestre nus ad tuz mal baillie.[5]
“ Arivez est en North-Wales,[6] bien le sachiez de fi,
“ E ad tensé la terre cum il en fust bailli.
“ De si k'en Dunewiz[7] par force recuilli.”
§ Ore est Humfrei de Boün iriez en sun curage :
“ Sire Richart de Luci, ore parra vostre age ;[8]
“ E vus seiez en haste, si cum l'um dit, tant sage.

---

[1] *Si n'en prengum*, L.

[2] Lines 811–814 are not in L. They are lines 757–760 repeated in error.

[3] *Alums*, L.

[4] *pees e triwe*, L.

[5] *tuz malbailli*, L.

[6] *Arwelle*, L.

[7] *Donewiz*, L.

[8] *vostre eage*, L.

"Ah! if God takes no care we shall certainly lose."
810 "Sir Humphrey de Bohun," quoth Richard de Lucy,
[*Or went not away through sheer cowardice,*
Without having been attacked
Or shouted at, or damaged in any way.
Robert de Vaus was the gainer in this chase.][1]
"Let us go to the king of Scotland to cry him
"mercy
"To keep peace and truce towards our king Henry.
"The greater part of England have all failed him.
"Do you know the news that we have heard?
"The earl of Leicester has ruined us all.
820 "He has arrived in North Wales,[3] you may be
"certain about it,
"And has taxed the land as though he were
"sheriff of it.
"From thence to Dunwich he collected by force."
Now is Humphrey de Bohun enraged in his heart:
"Sir Richard de Lucy, now will your age appear;
"And if you are, as they say, so wisely prompt,

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[1] This passage, which, as stated on the opposite page, is only a repetition of lines 757–760, is interesting, because it shows that the passage which Dr. Vising regards as an interpolation (*ll.* 646–765) was almost certainly in the copy from which D., the older MS., was derived. It could hardly have been twice entered if taken from a separate work. The writer of L. either did not use the same early copy or was more wary in its use.

[2] See Dugd. Baron., i. 179.

[3] This is, of course, a blunder on the part of the Durham scribe. The Lincoln MS. reads *Arwelle* (Orwell). The historical error, however, in what follows is more serious. The attack on Norwich (see line 895) was in 1174. The events in the text lead up to the battle of Fornham, which was fought on Oct. 17, 1173.

From Diceto we know that Leicester landed at Walton on Sept. 29, Haghenet was taken on Oct. 13, and the defeat at Fornham followed immediately. Again, Diceto (i. p. 381) tells us that a party of Flemings landed at *Airewell* on May 15, 1174, joined earl Bigod, and captured Norwich on June 18. Benedict of Peterborough (i. 68) supports Diceto.

The earl of Leicester was a prisoner in 1174.

“ Alez al rei d'Escoce, celez-lui cest damage.
“ S'il set[1] ceste novele mult iert de fier curage,
“ Ke li cuens[2] seit arivez e venuz à passage :
“ Ne vus durras sa triewe, s'il n'ad el cuer[3] la rage.
830 “ Jo m'en irrai ariere : ço iert pur sun damage.
“ Si Deus le volt e grée, jo desfrai l'ultrage.[4] *fo.* 149. *b.*
“ Mar i furent arivez de Flandres la salvage.”
Ore ad Richart de Luci fait cume sené.
Tut ad del rei [d'Escoce][5] quanqu'il ad demandé
835 De triewes vers Northumberland de si que vers l'esté :[6]
E dan Humfrei de Boün s'en est ariere alé
E[7] maint gentil chevalier d'Engleterre né :
Si serrunt ainz curt terme vers Flamens acuinté.

Richard de Luci arranges a truce (October, 1173).

§Bien l'avez oï dire, li petit e li grant,
840 Ke le cunte Robert est alé tant avant,
Arivez en Sufolke la terre[8] vait tensant ;
De si qu'en Dunewiz tut vait par sun cumant,
Maint gentil hum de Flandres li vait le jor siewant :[9]
Dunt li reis d'Engleterre en ot[10] puis joie grant.
845 § Li cuens Huge Bigot ad ses messages pris,
E mande de Dunewiz ceus qui lur[11] est amis,
Prengent sei al cunte, si aurunt gieus e ris,[12]

---

[1] *Si il set*, L.

[2] *Si li quons*, L.

[3] *Ne vus durrad la triwe, s'il n'ad al quor*, L.

[4] *defrai l'ustrage*, L.

[5] D. omits *d'Escoce*.

[6] *vers esté*, L.

[7] *E*, om. L.

[8] *Erwelle Suffoke*, omitting *la terre*, L.

[9] *hume de Flandre le veit siwant*, L.

[10] *de Engletere ot*, L.

[11] *à ceus de Donewiz ke mult lur*, L.

[12] *al cuntre, mult averunt gieu e ris*, L.

"Go to the king of Scotland, hide from him this "injury.
"He will be of very proud heart if he knows these "tidings
"That the earl should have arrived and succeeded "in passing:
"He will not grant you his truce, unless he has "madness in his heart.
830 "I will go back: that will be for his damage.
"If God wills it and agrees I will repair the out-"rage.
"In an evil hour they came from savage Flan-"ders."
Now has Richard de Lucy done like a man of sense.
He has from the king of Scotland all that he has asked
Of truce for Northumberland from now till about summer:
And lord Humphrey de Bohun has gone back
And many a gentle knight of English birth:
They will in a short time make acquaintance with the Flemings.
You have heard it well, both small and great,
840 That the earl Robert is gone so far forward
That having reached Suffolk he goes levying money on the land;
As far as Dunwich all goes by his orders,
Many a gentleman of Flanders goes this day following him:
At which the king of England afterwards had great joy.
Earl Hugh Bigod has taken his messengers,
And makes known to those of Dunwich that he is their friend,
Let them side with the earl if they will have sports and mirth,

U cil perdrunt les testes ki[1] sunt encore vifs.
E cil li unt remandé: mar seit cunseil pris,
Ainz se vendrunt mult chier envers[2] lur enemis.
§ Bien l'avez oï dire en reprovier:[3]
" Ki fait tricherie sun seignur dreiturier
" U nule felunie ù il ait[4] desturbier,
" D'aver malveis guerdun ne se deit pas duter;
" E ki leaument lu sert si fait mult à preisier."
Si fist la gent de Dunewiz,[5] dunt vus m'oëz parler.
Li cuens de Leircestre les voleit asiegier,
E jura sun serrement dunt il fud custumier,
S'à lui ne se rendissent[6] li burgeis e li per,
N'eschapereit un hume senz mort u desturbier;
E cil li remanderent ki erent ainz[7] premier:
" Dehé[8] ait ki vus[9] dute l'amuntant d'un denier![10]
" Encore est vifs li bon[11] reis dreiturier,
" Ki[12] fera vostre guerre mult tost anienter.
" Tant cum nus poüm vivre[13] e sur les piez ester,
" Ne rendrum la vile[14] pur nul assaut duter."
Li cuens de Leircestre se prist à curucier, *fo.* 150.
E fait drescier les furches pur els espoenter.
Puis fait armer en haste serjant e escuier:
Pur assaillir la vile forment se volt pener.
Le jor veïssiez burgeis, bien vaillant chevalier,
Saillir à[15] lur defenses; chascun set sun mestier,
Les uns des arcs traire, les autres à lancier.

---

[1] *que*, L.

[2] *Einz se vendrent — vers*, L.

[3] *dire sovent en reprover*, L.

[4] *dunt il eit*, L.

[5] *Donewiz*, and elsewhere, L.

[6] *rendunt*, L.

[7] *remandent ki erent ainz*, L.; *remanderent ki ainz ainz*, D.

[8] *Dehé*, D.; *Deez*, L.

[9] *vus*, D. L.

[10] *l'amunte d'un dener*, L.

[11] *est vis en terre li bons*, L.

[12] *Que*, L.

[13] *poüms vivere*, L.

[14] *sa vile*, L.

[15] *Sallier à*, L.

Or those who are now alive will lose their heads.
And those have answered him: ill would his advice be taken,
850 Rather they will sell themselves full dear to their foes.
Indeed you have heard it said in the proverb:
" He who is guilty of treachery to his rightful lord
" Or of any felony by which he may suffer injury
" Cannot doubt of having evil recompense;
" And he who serves him loyally causes himself to " be highly valued."
So did the people of Dunwich, of whom you hear me speak.
The earl of Leicester wished to besiege them,
And swore his oath, as he was accustomed,
If the burghers and the notables[1] should not surrender to him,
860 Not a man would escape without death or injury;
And these answer him who were the chief people:
" Woe be to him who dreads you to the amount of " a penny!
" The good rightful king still lives,
" Who will full soon bring your campaign to " nothing.
" As long as we can live and stand on our feet,
" We will not surrender the town from fear of " assault."
The earl of Leicester began to grow incensed,
And causes gallows to be erected to alarm them.
Then he causes serjeants and squires to be armed quickly:
870 He resolved to exert himself to assault the town vigorously.
That day you might have seen burghers, right valiant knights,
Issue forth to their fortifications: each knows his business,
Some to shoot with bows, the others to hurl darts.

---

[1] Burguy gives a large range of meanings for *per*, including " conseiller " de ville," no doubt, however, a late use of the word.

Les forz aident as fiebles suvent à reposer.

Attack on Dunwich foiled.

N'i ot dedenz la vile pucele ne muillier
Ki ne portast la piere al paliz pur geter.
§ Issi se defendirent la gent de Dunewiz,
Si cum[1] ces vers parolent ki sunt ici escriz;
E tant furent prudhume[2] li granz e li petiz
Ke le cunte Robert s'en vait tut escharniz.
Li cuens de Leircestre est mult de grant[3] valur,
Envers la gent de Dunewiz ne trovad nul amur;
Ne li pout aver mestier assaut ne vavassur,[4]
Ne serjant ne escuier dunt cil aient poür.
Entre lui e le cunte se mistrent al retur,[5]
Desqu'al demein al aube,[6] quant vit pareir le jor.
Manda ses[7] cunestables, si lur dit en oiance:
“ Faites munter voz humes, mar iert demurance.
“ Jo m'en irrai à Norewiz,[8] si Deus m'en duinst
“ puissance,
“ Pur veeir lur afaire, quele[9] est lur contenance.”
E cil ne targent mie de faire la fesance;
Tost veïssiez en haste despleier mainte mance,
Maint pennuncel de seie porter en bele lance,
E maint bon gentil vassal, maint hum de grant
vaillance.

Capture of Norwich (18 June, 1174).

Ki volt oïr la verité cum Norewiz[10] fud prise?
Jo ne fui pas el païs quant ele fud asise:
Uns traïtres Lohereng la trahi, pur ço si fud
suprise.[11]
Nul ne se pot de traïsun guarder en nul guise,

---

[1] *Si cume*, L.
[2] *purdume*, L.
[3] *fud de mult grand*, L.
[4] *de vavaçur*, L.
[5] *à retur*, L.
[6] *Tresqu'al demein del alba*, L.
[7] *E manda ses*, L.
[8] *Jeo m'en irrai à Norwiz*, L.
[9] *Pur ver — quel*, L. In D. *veeir* has hair-strokes thus: *vééir*. See p. 284, note 4.
[10] *Norwiz*, L.
[11] *Loereng traï, pur ceo si fud prise*, L.

The strong help the weak to rest frequently.
Within the town there was neither maid nor wife
Who did not carry a stone to the palisade for throwing.
Thus did the people of Dunwich defend themselves,
As these verses tell which are here written;
And so brave were great and small
880 That earl Robert retired completely mocked.
The earl of Leicester is of very high courage,
Towards the Dunwich folk he had no love;
Neither assault nor vassal could be of service to him,
Nor sergeant nor squire of whom these might be afraid.
He and the earl together set about returning
As soon as the morrow dawned, when he saw the day appear.
He called his constables, and openly said to them:
" Cause your men to mount, delay will be fatal.
" I will go to Norwich, if God gives me power,
890 " To see their affairs, and what their bearing is."
And those delay not to do what is to be done;
Soon might you see many a sleeve displayed in haste,
Many a pennon of silk carried on a fine lance,
And many a good gentle vassal, many a man of great valour.
Who wishes to hear the truth how Norwich was taken?[1]
I was not in the country when it was besieged:
A Lorraine traitor betrayed it, therefore it was surprised.
No one can in any way guard himself against treason,[2]

---

[1] Fantosme's chronology is here at fault. See vol. i., p. 178, note 3.

[2] M. Michel cites "De traïson "ne se puet nus garder" from MS. 6985 of the Nat. Lib. Paris, fo. 220; and "De traïson ne se puet "nus gaitier," from the same MS., fo. 245.

Fors sulement lu rei Henri, qui les cruels[1] justise,
Par la vertu del Criatur e preiere de saint Iglise.
Pais à tenir à sun poeir, unkes ne fist feintise,
E Deus, ki unkes ne menti, le tienge en sun servise !
§Jordan Fantosme premier[2] se volt abanduner *fo.* 150. *b.*
Sur tuz les saintuaires un serrement[3] jurer,
N'ad clerc en tut le munde, tant sace recorder
Sa lesçun en sun livre[4] ne de nul art parler,
Ki me pëust dire, ne sace recunter,[5]
Terre qui la vaille de si qu'à Muntpeslier[6]
Cele de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oëz parler,[7]
Plus honuré chevalier ne meillur viandier,
Ne plus gaillardes dames pur largement duner,
Fors la cité de Lundres, ù nul ne set sa per.
As baruns de la vile ne pot nul cumparer.
Unques en ceste [guerre] n'en[8] oïstes parler,
Tant fust riche de terre, ki's osast asiegier
Ne tendre vers els le dei pur sulement penser,
N'en eüst malveis gueredun en lieu[9] de sun luier.
Gentil rei d'Engleterre, kar pernez à penser
Cum vus devez Lundres e les baruns amer,
Kar unques ne faillirent lur seignur dreiturer,
Tuz jorz à sa busuine ne fussent li premier.
Asez orent messages de Flandres ultremer,
Ki[10] lur prameteient granz honurs à duner.
Vostre fiz demeine, ke mult devez amer
Quant par nature se prist à acorder,
Lur manda par ses lettres e par sun messagier
Qu'il li feïssent aïe sun pere à guerreier

---

[1] *crueles*, L.

[2] *Jurdan Fantosme primerein*, L.

[3] *serment*, L.

[4] *livere*, L.

[5] *sace recorder*, L.

[6] *Terre que la vaille de si qu'à Munpeller*, L.; D. has the form *si*.

[7] *Norfauke dunt m'oëz parler*, L.

[8] *ceste guerre ne me*, L.; D. omits *guerre*.

[9] *en lui*, L.

[10] *Que*, L.

Save only king Henry, who does justice on the cruel,
900 By the power of the Creator and the prayers of Holy Church.
There was never any pretence about his keeping peace according to his ability,
And may God, who never lied, retain him in his service!
Jordan Fantosme first wished to surrender himself
To swear an oath on every reliquary,
That there is no clerk in all the world so clever at recording
His lesson in his book, or in discoursing of any art,
Who can tell me, or who can mention,
A country from here to Montpellier which is worth
That of Norfolk of which you hear me speak,
910 More honoured knights, nor more liberal,
Nor more merry dames to give freely,
Except [in] the city of London, whose peer no one knows.
To the barons of the town none can compare.
Never in this war did you hear tell of any one,
However wealthy in land, who dared to besiege them,
Or even in thought to point the finger at them,
Who did not have a sore recompense in lieu of his pay.
Gentle king of England, take into consideration
How you ought to love London and the barons,
920 For they never failed their rightful lord,
But were always the first at his need.
They had plenty of messengers from Flanders beyond the sea,
Who promised to give them great honours.
Your own son, whom you ought to love much
Since he has begun to be reconciled in accordance with nature,
Asked them, by his letters and by his envoy,
To help him to make war upon his father

Par itel devise cum jà m'orrez nomer—
K'à tuz jorz de sa vie les tendreit si chier,
Amereit e chierireit e mult lur volt[1] duner.
Mès il ne l' volent faire ne sulement granter—
Pur vus de vostre regne chacier ne eissillier.
§Pur ço les devez amer, honurer, e cherir,
E à lur grant busuine lur leauté merir,
Quant unc pur[2] pramesse ne voleient flechir;
Mès vus amer à lur poeir lur veneit à plaisir.
Gentil rei d'Engleterre, faites le mien desir:
Amez ces qui vus vuelent en leauté[3] servir.
Ne deit pas al joefne rei de rien mesavenir *fo.* 151.
(Quant par naturesce se prist à repentir)[4]
A mener genz estranges en[5] pur les suens hunir
Ki emprès les jorz sun pere le deivent maintenir.
Anceis que cest siecle cumence à definir,[6]
Purrunt aventures plusurs avenir.
Unkes n'en eüstes tel guerre à sustenir,
Ke vostre fiz n'ait graindre. Ore penst des suens nurrir.
Li cuens de Leicestre[7] ne fine de guaster
La terre de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oëz[8] parler;
Ne pot de Normendie le rei Henri grever,
Pur ço volt Engleterre à sun poeir medler.
Il ad od lui de Flandres par cent e par millier:
Li cuens Huge le Bigot[9] le volt del tut aidier;
E li cuens de Ferrieres,[10] un simple chevalier—
Mielz dëust[11] bele dame baisier e acoler

---

[1] *lur volt* is repeated in D.
[2] *Quant unques pur nul,* L.
[3] *ke vos volent en lalté,* L.
[4] *renpentir,* L.
[5] *Amer genz estranges ne,* L.
[6] *ceste secle cumenceit a defaillir,* L.
[7] *Leircestre,* L.
[8] *Norfouke, dunt m'oëz,* L.
[9] *de Bigot,* L.
[10] *Ferrers,* L.
[11] *Melz dust,* L.

On such condition as you will hear me name,—
That all his life he would hold them so dear,
930 Would love and cherish and give them much.
But they would not do nor even promise it—
To chase or exile you from your realm.
Wherefore you ought to love, honour, and cherish them,
And at their great need recompense their loyalty,
Since they would waver for no promise;
But it was a pleasure to them to love you to the utmost of their power.
Gentle king of England, accomplish my desire:
Love those who wish to serve you in loyalty.
Nothing amiss should befal the young king,—
940 Since through natural affection he has begun to repent,—
For importing foreigners to disgrace his own people,
Who after his father's days should support him.
Before this century begins to reach its end,
Many adventures may happen.
Never had you so great a war to sustain,
That your son may not have a greater. Now let him turn to cherishing his own people.
The earl of Leicester does not cease to ravage
The land of Norfolk, of which you hear me speak;
He could not annoy king Henry in Normandy,
950 So he desired to embroil England to the utmost of his power.
He had with him Flemings by hundreds and thousands;
Earl Bigod desired to give him every aid;
And earl Ferrers,[1] a simple knight—
Rather ought he to kiss and embrace a fair lady

---

[1] Robert earl Ferrers.

Ke par mal de guerre ferir un chevalier,
Li mande par ses lettres sëur puet aler[1]
Par tut Engleterre: n'i aura desturbier.
Bien li dit li cuens ceus qui[2] vuelent guerreer:
Ço est li reis d'Escoce qu'il ad nomé premier,
E dan David[3] sun frere ki mult fait à preisier,
E dan Rogier de Munbrai ki tuz jorz fud guerreer.[4]
“Il vus vendrad succurre là vus aurez mestier.
“ Tute la terre brande: pensez del espleitier.
“ Li vielz reis d'Engleterre aurad des suens “ mestier:[5]
“ Mult est en grant barate, si devum Deu loer.
“ Jamès jor de sa vie ne passera la mer,
“ Si aura Normendie perdue al passer.

The invaders try to reach Leicester.

“ Si vus à Leircestre pëussiez chevalchier,[6]
“ Ainz ke venist la Paske purriez tant aler
“ Desqu'à la Tur de Lundres purriez tant aler.[7]
“ La bone cité d'Everwic[8] si est à dan Rogier,
“ Par tut Everwicsire[9] se fait seignur clamer.
“ N'i ad enz[10] en mun païs guaires nul[11] “ chevalier,
“ Si jo n'ai lur aïe, ne's face tut mater.”
—“E Deus!” ço dist li cuens, “cum ore puis “ enragier! *fo.* 151. *b.*
“ Trop sui en lunge atente[12] pur mun seignur “ aidier

---

[1] *assëur pout aler*, L.

[2] *li quons quels ço sunt ki*, L.

[3] *Davi*, L.

[4] *ke tuz jurs fu guerrier*, L. The Durham scribe places hair strokes over each *e* here, thus, *guerréér*. This he does in many other cases of double vowels, meaning, possibly, that they are to be kept separate in pronunciation. See, however, p. 242, note 6.

[5] *de sens mester*, L.

[6] *pensez chivalcher*, L.

[7] D. repeats end of previous line. L. reads *Tresqu'a la Tur de Lundres; n'i aureit desturber.*

[8] *de Everwic*, L.

[9] *Par tute Everwikesire*, L.

[10] *einz*, L.

[11] *nul*, repeated in D.

[12] *aidier* here and at the end of the line in D.; *en lunge atente*, L.

Than by the ill-fortune of war to strike a knight—
Tells him by his letters that he can go in safety
Throughout all England: he will have no hindrance there.
The earl tells him who they are who wish to make war:
It is the king of Scotland whom he named first,
960 And lord David his brother who is worthy of high esteem,
And lord Roger de Mowbray[1] who was always a warrior.
" He will come to help where you shall have " need.
" All the land is aflame: take care to be quick.
" The old king of England will have need of his " men:
" He is in great difficulty, so we ought to praise " God.
" Never in his life will he pass the sea
" Without losing Normandy by crossing.
" If you could ride to Leicester,
" Before Easter you might go as far
970 " As the Tower of London; you would have no " hindrance.[2]
" The good city of York is lord Roger's,
" He proclaims himself lord throughout Yorkshire.
" There are very few knights in my country
" Whom I will not humble, if I do not have their aid."
" Ah, God," thus said the earl, " how angry I could " now be!
" Too long have I been delaying to help my lord

---

[1] See Dugd. Baron., i. 122.

[2] See the reading of L.

“ E del viel rei sun pere e de mes mals vengier.
“ Orrai, seignurs chevaliers, un sul de vus parler ?
“ De faire cest afaire[1] ki m'oserad loer ?”
—“ Oïl, sire, tut assëur,” respunt lui sa muillier,
“ Jà Damnes-Deus [ne place], ki[2] reis est dreiturier,
“ Ke vus pur Humfrei de Boün laissiez[3] cest eire ester,
“ Ne pur le cunte d'Arandel ne pur sun bel parler ![4]
“ Li Engleis sunt bon vantur, ne se sevent oster.[5]
“ Mielz sevent as gros hanaps beivre e gueisseillier.
“ Li cuens de Glowecestre[6] fet mult à reduter ;
“ Mès il ad vostre sorur à muillier e à per :[7]
“ Pur tut l'aveir de France ne volsist cumencier
“ De faire nul ultrage dunt eüssiez desturbier.”[8]
—“ Dame,” ço dist le cunte, “ ore vus oi parler
“ Vostre cunseil dei faire, kar mult vus soil amer.
“ — Sire Huge del Chastel, volez-le-vus granter ?
“ Si vus à Leircestre estiez[9] el dangier,
“ De tut ceus d'Engleterre ne vus esteust[10] duter ;
“ Ainz lur[11] purriez faire suvent grant desturbier.”
E dist Huge del Chastel : “ N'i ad fors del aler.”[12]
Tost purriez oïr e bien en halt crier[13]
Entre Flamens de Flandres e Franceis e Puier :

---

[1] *cele enprise*, L.

[2] *Jà Dampne-Deu ne place, ke*, L. ; D. omits *ne place*.

[3] *Unfrei — lessez*, L.

[4] *De Arundel ne pur sun gros parler*, L.

[5] *bevadur, ne sevent osteer*, L.

[6] *Gloecestre*, L.

[7] *e à peer*, L.

[8] *encumbrer*, L.

[9] *esteiez*, L.

[10] *estut*, L.

[11] *Ainz les*, L.

[12] *del errer*, L.

[13] *Tost i purriez oier e ben e halt crier*, L.

" And to revenge myself on the old king his
" father and for my wrongs.
" Lords, knights, shall I hear a single one of you
" speak ?
" Who will venture to advise me to do this
" business ? "
" Yea, sir, in all certainty," replied his wife,
980 " Lord God, who is rightful king, forbid
" That you should give up this journey for Humphrey de Bohun,
" Or for the earl of Arundel,[1] or for his fair words !
" The English are good at boasting, they do not
" understand how to fight.
" They know better how to drink from big cups
" and to eat gluttonously.
" The earl of Gloucester [2] is much to be feared ;
" But he has your sister for wife and for companion:
" For all the riches of France he would not begin
" To perpetrate any outrage from which you could
" have trouble."
990 " Lady," so said the earl, " now I hear you speak
" I must follow your advice for much I am wont
" to love you.
" Sir Hugh de Chastel [3] will you consent to it ?
" If you were at Leicester in possession,
" You need not fear all the men of England ;
" Rather you might often give them great trouble."
And said Hugh de Chastel, " There is nothing to
" do but go."
Soon you might hear loud shouting
Between the Flemings from Flanders and French
and men of Poix :[4]

---

[1] William de Albini.

[2] William.

[3] Hugo de Castellis. See Newburgh, i. 179, and Robert of Torigni, ii. 45. He was cousin to the earl of Leicester.

[4] See DuCange, under "Poheri." Poix is in Picardy.

"Nus n'eimes pas en cest[1] païs venuz pur "sujorner,
"Mès pur lu rei destruire Henri le vielz guerrier
"E pur aver sa leine, dunt avum desirier."
Seignurs, ço est la verité: li plus furent telier,
Ne saveient porter armes à lei de chevalier.
Mès pur ço furent venuz, pur aver guain e guerre;[2]
Kar n'ad meillur viandier de Saint-Edmund en terre.[3]
Ore oiez, seignurs, baruns, de Deu la grant venjance,
Qu'il fist descendre sur Flamens e sur la gent de France.
Li cuens de Leircestre fud de grant puissance;
Mès trop fud de curage jofne e d'enfance[4]
Quant il par Engleterre volt aler en oiance,
Fesant sa roberie senz aver desturbance, *fo.* 152.
E fait armer sa femme, porter[5] escu e lance:
La sue grant folie prendrad dure neissance.
Saint-Edmunt[6] aveit chevaliers forment de grant puissance,
Si's fait armer en haste senz nule demurance.
Ço fud Waltier le fiz Robert, dunt vus oiez parlance,
Ki primes[7] justad as Flamens e mist en grief errance.
Certes, le cunte d'Arundel (unkes n'ama tarjance)
I vint od la meisnée, que saint Edmunt[8] avance!
Li sires Humfrei[9] de Boün lur ad fait desturbance;
Jà 's verrez entre-ferir, n'i ad autre sevrance.[10]

---

[1] *en ço*, L.
[2] *guerer*, L.
[3] L. omits this line.
[4] *e de enfance*, L.
[5] *e fait porter*, L.
[6] *A Seint-Edmund*, L.
[7] *Que primes*, L.
[8] *medniée — Edmund*, L.
[9] *Unfrei*, L., and elsewhere.
[10] *sevreance*, L.

" We have not come into this country to sojourn,
1000 " But to destroy King Henry the old warrior
" And to have his wool, which we long for."
Lords that is the truth: the greater part of them were weavers,[1]
They did not know how to bear arms like knights.
But they had come for this—to have gain and fighting;
For there is no better place for hospitality on earth than St. Edmund's.
Lords, barons, now hear the great vengeance of God,
Which he caused to descend on Flemings and on French.
The earl of Leicester was a man of vast power;
But he was of too youthful and childish a mind
1010 When he wished to go publicly through England
Perpetrating robberies without hindrance,
And causes his wife to take arms—to carry shield and lance:
His great folly will come to a hard birth.
Saint Edmund had knights of the greatest prowess,
And arms them hastily, without any loss of time.
It was Walter Fitz Robert, of whom you hear speak,
Who first ran a tilt against the Flemings and put them in an evil way.
Indeed the earl of Arundel—never loved he delay—
Came there with his followers, whom St. Edmund prosper!
1020 Sir Humphrey de Bohun had caused them trouble
Soon will you see them exchange blows, there is no other severance.

---

[1] Gervase says something to the same effect, i. 246.

§ Li cuens [de][1] Leircestre s'arestut en estant,
E vëeit la gent armée ki's veneit aprismant:
“ Sire Huge del Chastel, ore çà venez avant,
“ E tute nostre[2] gelde, li petit e li grant.
“ Par le mien escient n'en irrum mès avant,
“ Si sufferum bataille mult [dure] e mult pesant.[3]
“ Vëez haubers e heaumes cuntre[4] soleil luisant;
“ Mès ore seiez chevalier, pur Deu le vus cumande.[5]
“ Mal ait le cors del hume ki primes aut fuiant,
“ Ke jà seit dit en reprovier ke seium recreiant.”
Li cuens d'Arundel est mult de grant aïr,
E dit à Humfrei de Boün: “ Ore les alum ferir
“ En l'onur Deu e saint Eadmunt,[6] qui est verai martir.”
Respunt Rogier le Bigot: “ Tut al[7] vostre plaisir!
“ Jo n'oi unc[8] en ma vie de rien si grant desir
“ Cume Flamens destruire,[9] que jo vei ci venir.”
§ Ço fud Waltier[10] le fiz Robert ki puinst premierement,—
Ore li seit en aïe li Reis omnipotent!—
E vait ferir Flamens mult aïréement;

The battle of Fornham (17 October, 1173).

E cil le refierent, ki ne l' dutent nïent.
Il esteient plus de lui par milliers e par cent,
Si l' funt reuser ariere oue la sue gent;
Mès il ne targa mie de querre vengement:
Mar virent Engleterre, tuit en serrunt[11] dolent.
Il encuntra le cunte, si li dit asprement:

---

[1] D. omits *de*.

[2] *nostre*, D. L.

[3] *Si suffrums la bataille mult dure e mult grant*, L.; D. omits *dure*.

[4] *Vëez tant haubercs e halmes cuntre le*, L.

[5] *cumant*, L.

[6] *Edmund*, L.

[7] *de Bigot tuit a*, L.

[8] *unke*, L.

[9] *cum Flamencs destrure*, L.

[10] *Water*, L.

[11] *serent*, L.

The earl of Leicester stopped short
And saw the armed men who came towards them:
" Sir Hugh de Chastel, come now forward here,
" And all our troop, the little and the great,
" By my judgment we will not advance,
" We will accept battle right hard and heavy.
" Behold the hauberks and helmets glittering " against the sun;
" But now be knights, for God's sake, I command " you.
1030 " Woe be to the body of the man who may be " first to flee,
" That it may never be said of us in a proverb " that we are recreants."
The earl of Arundel is of a proud disposition,
And says to Humphrey de Bohun: "Now let us " go and attack them
" For the honour of God and St. Edmund, who is " a true martyr."
Roger le Bigod replies: " Quite at your pleasure!
" I never in my life so much desired anything
" As to destroy the Flemings whom I see approach " hither."
It was Walter Fitz Robert who spurred on first—
Now be the King omnipotent his helper!—
1040 And goes to strike the Flemings right angrily;
And they, who fear him not, return the blows.
They outnumbered him by thousands and by hundreds,
So they make him retreat backwards with his people;
But he delayed not to seek vengeance:
For bad luck did they see England, all will be sorry for it.
He met the earl and said to him roughly:

"Vus estes hume mun seignur, ne seiez mie lent: *fo.* 152. *b.*
"Veiez ses enemis aler à sun destruiement.
"Puigniez-i, sire cunte, od nus ensemblement."
1050 E cil jura la lance Deu (ço fud sun serrement)
Mar amena de Flandres Robert itele gent.
Dunc veïssiez le cunte ki[1] fierement se destent,
E dan Rogier le Bigot ki les granz fés enprent.
Ne dan Huge de Creissi[2] ne lur failli nïent;
1055 Mès anceis qu'il pëussent ferir sur els à lur talent,[3]
Aveit Humfrei de Boün retenuz plus de cent.
§ Certes, mult le fait bien Robert le fiz Bernart,[4]
De cele gent estrange fait merveillus essart.
Ne s'i puet pru aidier ne Flameng ne Lumbart:
1060 La leine d'Engleterre mult par cuillerent[5] tart.
Desur lur cors descendent corneilles e busart,
Ki les armes enportent el fu qui tut tens art.[6]
Là lur dirrad la[7] messe li prestre saint Suart;
Mielz lur vendreit en Flandres pendre à une[8] hart.
1065 Mult fussent pruedhume li Flameng, si Deus lur fust aïe;
Mès il ne l' aveient deservi pur lur grant roberie.
Li cuens de Leircestre mar vit lur cumpaignie,
Ne dan Huge del Chastel ne s'en joïra mie:[9]
Il sunt en mi la presse, fieblement, senz aïe.

---

[1] *si*, L.
[2] *Ne dean Huge de Cressi*, L.
[3] *puissent ferir à lur talent*, L.
[4] *Bernard*, L.
[5] *cuillent*, L.
[6] *ki tuz jurz art.*
[7] *la*, om. L.
[8] *par une*, L.
[9] *joiera mie*, L.

" You are the liegeman of my lord, be not slow:
" Behold his enemies going to his destruction.
" Spur on, sir earl, along with us."
1050 And this he swore by the spear of God—that was his oath—
In evil hour did Robert bring such people from Flanders.
Then you might see the earl who proudly draws himself up,
And lord Roger le Bigod, who undertakes great deeds.
Nor did lord Hugh de Creissi[1] fail them at all;
But before they could fight as they liked
Humphrey de Bohun had formed a reserve of more than a hundred.
Indeed Robert Fitz Bernard[2] does right well,
He makes a marvellous clearance of these foreigners.
Neither can Flemings nor Lombards effectually help themselves:
1060 They gathered the wool of England very late.
Upon their bodies crows and buzzards descend,
Who carry their souls to the fire which ever burns.
There the priest of Saint Suart will say mass for them:
It would be better for them to hang by a rope in Flanders.
If God had been their help the Flemings would have been very brave;
But they had not deserved it for their great robberies.
The earl of Leicester in an evil hour saw their company,
Nor will lord Hugh de Chastel rejoice in it:
They are in the midst of the crowd, feebly, helplessly.

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[1] See Bened. Petr., i. 107.

[2] Hoveden, ii. 87.

Ma dame la cuntesse ad la vie acuillie,[1]
E trova une fosse ù ele près se nie.[2]
Enz en mi le betumei ses aneus i ublie;
Jamès ne serrunt trovez en trestute sa vie.
§ La femme le cunte se volt de gré neier,
Quant Simun de Wahille[3] la prist à relever.
" Dame, venez-en od mei, laissiez icel ester.
" Issi vait[4] de guerre, de perdre e de guaignier."
Dunc prist le cunte Robert forment sei esmaier:[5]
Quant vit sa femme prise, bien se dut curuscier,
E vit ses cumpaignuns ocis à cent e à millier:
Prist lui en sun visage[6] la culur à muer.
§Li sire Humfrei de Bohun e li cuens d'Arundel
Unt retenu le cunte e Huge del Chastel, *fo.* 153.
E dan Rogier le Bigot le jor i fud novel.
Lui e Huge de Creissi cest fait sembla[7] mult bel.
N'i aveit el païs[8] ne vilain ne corbel
N'alast Flamens destruire à furke e à fleel.[9]
De rien s'entremetteient li armé chevalier,
Fors sul del abatre, e vilains à tuer.
Par quinze, par quarante, par cent e[10] par millier
Les funt à vive force ès fossez tresbuchier.
Si Deus i fist miracle, ne fait à merveillier,
Kar unkes en ma vie n'oï de lui parler,
Tant fust osé d'armes, tant[11] vaillant chevalier,
E il[12] volsist le rei Henri guerreier,
Pur quei ceus d'Engleterre le volsissent aidier,

---

[1] *veie acullie*, L.
[2] *se neie*, L.
[3] *Simun de Wahille*, D.; *Simund de Wahille*, L.
[4] *Issi vent*, L.
[5] *forment à esmaer*, L.
[6] *en visage*, L.
[7] *Cressi cest fet li sembla*, L.
[8] *el le païs*, L.
[9] *fuche e a flael*, L.
[10] *e*, om. L.
[11] *tant*, D.; *ne*, L.
[12] *E il*, D. L.

1070 My lady the countess has taken the road,
And has met with a ditch where she almost drowned herself.
In the midst of the mud she forgets her rings;
Never in all her life will they be found.
The earl's wife wished to drown herself
When Simon de Wahull[1] caught her to pull her up.
" Lady come hence with me, let that alone.
" Thus it goes with war: losing and gaining."
Then earl Robert began to be greatly dismayed:
When he saw his wife captured, he had good reason to be sad,
1080 And saw his comrades slain by hundreds and thousands;
The colour in his face began to change.
Sir Humphrey de Bohun and the earl of Arundel
Have secured the earl and Hugh de Chastel,
And lord Roger le Bigod was newly there that day.
To him and Hugh de Creissi this deed seemed very fine.
There was not in the country a villein or clown
Who did not go to kill Flemings with fork and flail.
The armed knights intermeddled with nothing
Except the knocking down, and the villeins did the killing.
1090 By fifteens, by forties, by hundreds and by thousands
They made them by main force tumble into the ditches.
If God there performed a miracle, it is not to be wondered at,
For never in my life did I hear speak of the man
Who was so daring in arms, so doughty a knight,
As that if he wished to fight against king Henry,
Even if the English would help him,

---

[1] See Dugd. *Monast.*, ed. 1673, ii. 524. 39.

Od la pire partie lui n'estëust finer.[1]
§Puisque le cunte Robert fud pris en descunfiture
Si fud tut Engleterre d'aukes plus asëure.
Tut les Flamens de Flandres unt pris dure aventure,
Nul des enemis le rei de rien ne s'asëure.[2]
Li cuens David d'Escoce, quei ke nuls vus en die,
Fud le plus gentil guerreier, si Deus me beneïe;[3]
Kar unc pur lui ne fud robée saint Iglise n'abeïe,[4]
Ne forfeïst à prestre jà nuls de sa baillie.
Ço fud en Mai enprès Avril quant[5] l'erbe s'est verdie,
Ke David vint d'Escoce od fiere cumpaignie,
Devenuz huem[6] sun frere, veant sa barunie,
A duner lui tut Levenax, tuz les jorz de sa vie,[7]
E puis l'onur de Huntedune — sa fei li en ad plevie —[8]
Cel e mult plus li durra, pur quei li face aïe

The garrison of Leicester ask David of Scotland to be their commander, May, 1174.

A guerreier le rei Henri, le duc[9] de Normendie.
Ore est David d'Escoce en Engleterre venuz
Od haubers e od healmes e od beus[10] painz escuz.
Icil de Leircestre li manderent saluz,
E dïent de lur seignur cum lui est avenuz.
Ore vienge pur els maintenir, si serra recëuz.
Par lui e par sa force iert li chastel tenuz.

---

[1] *Od la piere parti li ne estuit fine*, L.

[2] *ne se assëure*, L.

[3] *me bendie*, L.

[4] *Quar unkes — ne abeïe*, L.

[5] *Ceo fud el meis d'averil*, L. Both MSS. have *quant*.

[6] *hume*, L.

[7] *tute Levenax sa fei lui ad plevie*, L.

[8] *Huntedune en trestute sa vie*, L., thus interchanging the ends of two lines.

[9] *deuc*, L.

[10] *halmes e bels*, L.

He did not finish with the worst of the business.
After earl Robert was captured in defeat
All England was a little more secure.
All the Flemings of Flanders have met with hard luck,
No enemy of the king feels safe about anything.
Earl David of Scotland, whatever may be said of him,
Was the gentlest of warriors, so may God bless me;
For never for him was holy Church or abbey robbed,
And none of his men would have done harm to a priest.
It was in May, after April, when grass has grown green,
That David came from Scotland with a proud retinue,
[Having] become his brother's man in the presence of his nobles,
On the gift of all Lennox for his life,
And then the honour of Huntingdon,—he has pledged his faith about it—
That and much more he will give him provided he furnish aid,
To war against king Henry, the duke of Normandy.
Now is David of Scotland arrived in England
With hauberks and with helmets and with beautiful painted shields.
Those of Leicester send him greeting,
And tell how it has befallen their lord.
Now let him come to uphold them: he will be [well] received.
By him and by his force the castle will be held.

Certes, à Bertram de Verdun serra mult chier venduz;
Si puet estre d'eus bailliz, tut serrad irascuz. *fo.* 153. *b.*
Ore oiez, seignurs, del cunte cument il fud pris:[1]
Il out en Huntedune laissié de ses amis,
Il fud en Leircestre très bien poestis;
A ceus de Notingeham[2] en iert tuz jorz de pis.
§Icil de Northamtune[3] furent de grant valur;
Mès dan David d'Escoce les mist en grief errur:
Ne pot tenserie de eus[4] aver par amur,
Si fist sa chevalchie sur les burgeis un jor.
Certes, ki voldrad oïr, jo'n[5] dirrai la verrur.
Bien le fist le cunte e tuit si cumpaignun;
Mult firent bien li chevalier qui vindrent del chastel.
Li sires Bertram de Verdun le jor i fud novel,
Mult aveit beles armes e cheval bien ignel,
Des plusurs qui[6] justerent en porta le cembel;
E dan David d'Escoce i fist de sun avel,
Il mena tel preie que mult [li] sembla[7] bel.
Mult guerreia bien David dedenz[8] Engleterre;
Mès li reis d'Escoce empeira mult sa guerre:
Par ses malveis cunseilliers tel chose enprist à faire
Dunt à la parestrusse li vint mult grant cuntraire.
David esteit mult sages, sire fud de bon aire,
E tensa saint Iglise, k'unkes ne volt mesfaire
Prestre ne chanuine[9] ki sëussent gramaire,

---

[1] *cum il fud apris*, L.

[2] *Notingham*, L.

[3] *Norhamtune*, L.

[4] *Nes puet tensier ne rien d'eus*, L.

[5] *oier jeo*, L.

[6] *ke*, L.

[7] *dunt mult li sembla*, L.; D. omits *li*.

[8] *dedenz cel Engletere*, L.

[9] *chanuinie*, L.

Certainly it will be sold right dear to Bertram de Verdun;[1]
1120 If it should fall into their power, he will be much enraged.
Now hear, lords, of the earl how he was taken:
He had left some of his friends in Huntingdon,
He was very powerful in Leicester;
It will grow daily worse for the people of Nottingham.
Those of Northampton were right valorous;
But lord David of Scotland put them in serious trouble:
He could not get revenue from them for love,
So he made a raid on the burghers one day.
Certainly to him who lists to hear I will tell the truth of it.
1130 Well did the earl do it and all his company;
Well did the knights who came from the castle.
Lord Bertram de Verdun was there for the first time that day,
He had very beautiful arms and a very swift horse,
From many who jousted he bore away the prize;
And lord David of Scotland did there according to his desire,
He carried off such booty as seemed to him very splendid.
Excellently well did David fight within England;
But the king of Scotland spoilt his campaign very much:
Through evil advisers he undertook to do a thing
1140 From which in the end great chagrin came to him.
David was very wise: and a gentle lord was he,
And protected holy Church: for he never wished to harm
Priest nor canon who knew grammar,

---

[1] See *Bened. Petr.*, i. 51, and elsewhere in the chronicle.

N'à nune d'abeïe[1] ne volt pur rien desplaire.
1145 Ço fud enprès la Paskes, bien me deit suvenir,
Que li reis d'Escoce cumence à revenir
Envers Northumberlande pur guaster e hunir.
A, Deu! cum grant damage jo[2] lur vi avenir
Quant li reis d'Escoce vint pur Werc envaïr!
1150 De la quel partie il voleit[3] assaillir,
Rogier d'Estutevile s'aveit[4] fait si guarnir.
Dehé ait Fantosme,[5] si jà m'orrez mentir!
E si jo vus menteie, si l' purriez bien oïr
Cum Rogier fud penible de[6] sun seignur servir.
1155 §Oëz del rei d'Escoce cument il guerreia:
Quant il departi de Werc cum il se purpensa.
Mult grant chevalerie la nuit apparailla,
Al chastel de Banesburc[7] sempres les enveia.
Bien cunuis le barun ki's cunduit e ki's guia:
1160 Jà n'en frai[8] parlance, kar mult perdu i a.
Merveillus damage fera cest[9] ost banie.
Kar plëust[10] à Jesu le fiz sainte Marie
Ke la chaitive gent en fust ore guarnie,
Ki en lur liz se dorment e si ne sevent mie!
1165 Matin esteit encore quant l'aube s'esclarzie,[11]
Quant ces chevaliers s'arment, la fiere cumpaignie.
La vile de Belefort[12] fud primes assaillie.
Par tute la cuntrée firent lur departie,
Tels curent as viles pur faire lur folie,
1170 Tels vunt mutuns prendre dedenz lur herbergerie,[13]
Tels vunt ardeir les viles: ne sai que plus vus die.
Jamès de si grant perte n'en iert parole oïe.

Renewed invasion of Northumberland after 31 March, 1174.

fo. 154.

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[1] *Ne noniein de abeïe*, L.
[2] *jeo*, L.
[3] *De la quele partie le voleit*, L.
[4] *sc aveit*, L.
[5] In L., above *Fantosme*, a contemporary hand has written *auctor libri.*
[6] *pur*, L.
[7] *Baneburc*, L.
[8] *Ja ne ferai*, L.
[9] *frad cest*, L.
[10] *Quar plust*, L.
[11] *l'albe esclazie*, L.
[12] *Beleford*, L.
[13] *lur bercherie*, L.

Nor conventual nun on any account would he displease.
It was after Easter, well ought I to remember,
That the king of Scotland began to return
Towards Northumberland to waste and dishonour.
Ah God! what great damage I saw happen to them
When the king of Scotland came to assail Wark!
1150 On whatever side he desired to assault
Roger d'Estutevile had armed himself for it.
Woe to Fantosme, if ever you hear me lie!
And if I lie to you, you may well hear this
How painstaking Roger was in the service of his lord.
Hear of the king of Scotland how he fought:
When he departed from Wark how he schemed.
He prepared by night a large body of horsemen,
And immediately sent them to Bamborough castle.
I know well the baron who led and guided them:
1160 I will not speak of him, for he has lost much in that affair.
This assembled host will do marvellous damage.
Then would to Jesus, the son of holy Mary,
That the unhappy people had then been warned of it
Who are sleeping in their beds and know nothing of it!
It was still morning, when the dawn grew bright,
When these knights armed themselves, the haughty company.
The town of Beleford[1] was first assailed.
They dispersed over all the country,
Some run to towns to perpetrate their folly,
1170 Some go to seize sheep in their folds,
Some go to burn towns: I know not what more I can tell you.
Never will the tale of so great a loss be told.

---

[1] In Northumberland.

Jà pëussiez veeir païsanz e Flamens ki les lient,[1]
Mener en lur cordeles cum[2] gent de paenie.
Femmes fuient al mustier;[3] chascune fud ravie
Nue senz vestëure;[4] sun aveir i ubblie.
A, Deu! pur quei ne l' saveit Willame de Vedsci,[5]
Rogier d'Estutevile, les autres autresi?
La preie fust rescuse, n'i eüssent pas failli;
Mès il ne l' sorent mie, certes ço peise mi.[6]
Arstrent la cuntrée; mès Deu lur fud ami[7]
A ces gentilz païsanz ki furent[8] desguarni,
Ke li Escot n'i furent lur mortel enemi,
Tuz les essent[9] estikez, ocis e mal bailli.
Mult fud grant la preie ke meinent les reials,
A Berewic-sur-Tine vienent[10] à lur ostals.
Asez en unt joie e mult de lur aveals,[11]
Kar riches sunt d'almaille, de bofs, e de chevals,[12]
E des beles vaches, de berbiz e d'aigneaus,[13]
De dras e de muneie, de nusches e d'aneaus.[14]
Dunc fist li reis d'Escoce mander ses chevaliers,[15] *fo.* 154. *b.*
Les cuntes de sa terre, tuz les meillurs guerriers.[16]
A Werke[17] volt mettre siege par ses bons cunseilliers,
Le chastel voldrad aveir par Flamens e archiers,[18]
Par bones perieres, par ses enginz mult fiers
E par ses eslingurs, par ses arbelastiers.[19]

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[1] *Ja puissieiz ver—que les lient*, L.; D. has *vus lie.* The better reading spoils the *laisse.*

[2] *E mener en lur cordes cume*, L.

[3] *à muster*, L.

[4] *vesture*, L.

[5] *Willeme de Vesci*, L.

[6] *ne l' furent — ceo peise moi*, L.

[7] *fust amis*, L.

[8] *ke furent*, L.

[9] *eüssent*, L.

[10] *revenent*, L.

[11] *Assez unt joie e mult de lur aveaus*, L.

[12] *des bofs e des chivals*, L.

[13] *e de aignels*, L.

[14] *e d'anals*, L.

[15] *les chivalers*, L.

[16] *guereieres*, L.

[17] *A Werc*, L.

[18] *e par archiers*, L.

[19] *e par ses arblastiers*, L.

Now you might see peasants and Flemings who bind them
And lead them in their cords like heathen men.
Women flee to the monastery; each one was carried off
Naked, without clothes; she there forgets her property.
Ah God! why did William de Vesci not know it,
Roger d'Estutevile and the others also?
The booty would have been rescued, they would not have failed;
1180 But they knew nothing about it, that indeed grieves me.
They burn the country; but God was friend
To those gentle peasants who were despoiled,
For the Scots were not their mortal enemies,
[Else] they had beaten, killed, and ill-used all of them.
Very great was the plunder that the king's men carry off,
To Newcastle-on-Tyne[1] they come to their lodgings.
They have exultation enough over it and much good cheer,
For they are rich in cattle, oxen, and horses,
And fine cows, sheep, and lambs,
1190 Clothes and money, jewels[2] and rings.
Then the king of Scotland caused his knights to be sent for,
The earls of his country, all the best warriors.
Through good advisers he willed to besiege Wark,
He wished to have the castle by means of Flemings and archers,
By good arbalists, and his very strong engines,
And by his slingers and his crossbowmen.

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[1] The same mistake, *Berwic-sur-Tine*, occurs in *l.* 428.

[2] *Nusches.* See Du Cange, under *Nosca, Nusca.*

Volez oïr de Rogier cum il se cuntint ?
Ne s'esmaia de guaires, quant cest ost li vint :
Il aveit en meisnée chevaliers plus de vint,
Certes, les meillurs serjanz k'unkes[1] barun retint.
L'ost fud merveillus, de grant chevalerie,
De Flamens e de marchis fiere la cumpaignie.
Rogier d'Estutevile ad sa maisun guarnie,
Ne dute pas lur siege la munte d'un alie :[2]
Il ad mult grant[3] barnage ù il bien s'afie,
E de eus bien amonester ne se ubblia mie.
Par un lundi matin furent appareilliez
Ki[4] le chastel assaudrunt ; Flamens furent nomez.
Dunc veïssiez targes prendre e ces escuz buclez,
Assaillir le heriçon, cum jà oir[5] purrez.
Par merveillus hardement sunt venuz ès fossez ;
Ceus qui[6] erent par dedenz ne s'i sunt ubbliez ;
Jà se sunt entre-feruz e si entre-medlez.
Unc ne vi meillur defens dedenz ces dous regnez.
Flamenc esteient hardiz e mult acuragiez,
E li autre mult engrès[7] dedenz lur fermetez.
Jà veïssiez serjanz e Flamens si medlez,
Targes e escuz freindre, penunceus[8] despleiez,
Flamens turner ariere des heriçons,[9] plaiez ;
Les uns furent des autres des heriçons[10] portez ;
Jamès ne crierunt Araz ! mort sunt e enterrez.

---

[1] *que unkes*, L.

[2] *de un alie*, L., with a blundered word *nunte* preceding.

[3] *grant*, L. ; *gent*, D.

[4] *Que*, L.

[5] *par oïr*, D.

[6] *Cels que*, L.

[7] *mult egres*, L.

[8] *penunçaus*, L.

[9] *del heriçun*, L.

[10] *altres en lur escuz*, L.

Do you wish to hear of Roger how he behaved himself?
He was not in the least dismayed when this host came to him:
He had in his following more than twenty knights,
1200 Certainly the best sergeants that ever baron retained.
The host was wonderful, of a great many knights,
Of Flemings and of Borderers fierce was the company.
Roger d'Estutevile has garrisoned his house,
He fears not their siege to the value of a berry:
He has a very noble baronage in whom he much confides,
And to exhort them well he did not forget.
By a Monday morning were equipped
Those who will assault the castle; Flemings they were called.
Then you might see targes seized and bucklers,
1210 The cheval-de-frise assaulted, as soon you may hear.
By wonderful boldness they reached the ditches;
Those who were within did not forget themselves;
Soon they exchanged blows and were thus intermingled.
I never saw a better defence within these two kingdoms.
The Flemings were bold and very full of courage,
And the others very much enraged within their stronghold.
Already you might see sergeants and Flemings thus mingled,
Bucklers and shields broken, pennons displayed,
Wounded Flemings turning back from the chevaux-de-frise;
1220 Some were carried from the chevaux-de-frise by others;
Never will they cry "Arras!" dead they are and buried.

§Lunges dura cel assaut, mès poi espleita:[1]
Certes, lu rei Willame de perdre[2] ne fina.
Rogier d'Estutevile les suens amonesta,
1225 Par mult gentil parole lur dit e sermuna:—
" Gentilz baruns cumpaignuns, pur Deu ki[3] vus
" furma!
" Ne dites vilanie, ne nus ne l' ferums jà;[4] *fo.* 155.
" Se il nus assaillent, e Deus nus defendra.
" Il funt tort al rei Henri, kar mesfait n'i a.

Siege of Wark (about April, 1174).

1230§" Ne traiez voz saiettes[5] fors sul as granz mestiers:
" Ne savum lur curages ne rien de lur pensers.
" Il unt larges veies e chemins e sentiers,
" Le vins e la cerveise, les beivres, les mangiers,
" E sunt riches d'armes e de curanz[6] destriers;
1235 " E nus eimes ci-dedenz serjant e soldeiers:
" Si nus avom viande, guardum-la volentiers.
" Esparniez voz armes, jo l' di à vus, archiers;
" Mès quant verrez busuine e granz assauz
" pleniers,
" Defendez dunc voz testes cum gentilz cheva-
" liers."
1240 Rogier d'Estutevile chastiot si la gent.[7]
E li reis d'Escoce se curusceit forment,
Quant vit ses serjanz murir e meschaïr suvent,
E vit que rien n'i espleitot, si fud el cuer[8] dolent,
E dit à ses chevaliers par sun grant marrement:
1245 " Faites vostre periere venir hastivement;
" Jà pescera[9] la porte, si l' engignur ne ment,
" E prendrum le baile[10] senz nul delaiement."
[O]ëz, seignurs, de la periere cument ele ala:—[11]

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[1] *mès poi i espleita*, L.
[2] *de perdere*, L.
[3] *ke*, L.
[4] *frum jà*, L.
[5] *seates*, L.
[6] *e des curranz*, L.
[7] *si sa gent*, L.
[8] *a quor*, L.
[9] *jà depecera*, L.
[10] *la baillie*, L.
[11] *Oiez, Seignurs, de la perere cum ele ala*, L. The Durham scribe omits the coloured O, but the letter is marked in the margin.

This assault lasted long, but effected little:
Certainly king William ceased not to lose.
Roger d'Estutevile exhorted his men,
With many gracious words he spoke and harangued them :—
" Gentle barons, comrades, by God who made you,
" Speak no injurious word, nor will we do so:
" If they assail us—and God will defend us—
" They do wrong to king Henry, for he has done " no evil.
1230 " Shoot not your arrows, except in great need:
" We know nothing of their intentions, nor any " thing of their thoughts.
" They have broad ways and roads and paths,
" Wine and beer, drink, food,
" And are wealthy in arms and swift chargers;
" And we are here within, sergeants and soldiers:
" If we have food, let us save it willingly.
" Spare your weapons, I say it to you, archers.
" But when you see need and very great assaults,
" Then defend your heads like noble knights."
1240 Roger d'Estutevile thus admonished his men.
And the king of Scotland grew greatly incensed,
When he saw his sergeants die and frequently meet with mischance,
And saw that he gained no success there, he was grieved at heart,
And said to his knights in his great distress:
" Send for your arbalist quickly;
" It will soon break the gate, if the engineer lies " not,
" And we shall take the stockade without any delay."
Hear, lords, of the arbalist how it fared—

La premiere piere qu'ele unkes lur geta !
1250 La piere de la funde à peine reversa
E un de lur chevaliers à terre agraventa.
Ne fussent ses armes e sun escu qu'il a,
A nul de sun lignage ne revenist-il jà;
Mult deit haïr l'engignur ki cel lur[1] engigna,
1255 E lu rei d'Escoce ki[2] plus perdu i a.
Dunc dist li reis Willame[3] burde merveilluse:—
"Certes, ceste fesance me semble mult custuse.
"El cuer[4] me tient la rage e ire si hisduse,
"Mielz volsisse estre pris tut vif devant Tu-
"luse."
1260 N'est mie grant merveille si ad el cuer pesance:
Mar vit Flamens de Flandres e puis lu rei de
France.
Il set bien la verité enfin e senz faillance,
Que perdu ad lu rei Henri senz nule desestance,[5] *fo. 155. b.*
E ne li puet[6] mesfaire par escu ne par lance
1265 Ne par engin de guerre, dunt guaires ait
nuisance.
Quant la periere li failli, si fist l'autre atraire:
Ardeir voldra le chastel, ne set mielz que faire;
Mès Jesu le glorius, de tutes riens furmeire,
Turnad au rei d'Escoce le vent mult à cuntraire,
1270 E à Rogier le barun cumençad mult à pleire.
Ore ad si grant leesce, en sa vie n'out maire.

---

[1] L. reads *lui*.
[2] *ke*, L.
[3] *Willem*, L. and below.
[4] *El cors*, L.
[5] *destance*, L.
[6] *E nel li put*, L.

The first stone it ever cast at them!
1250 The stone hardly turned over from the sling
But it struck one of their knights to earth.
Were it not for his armour and the shield he had
He had never returned to any of his family.
He must greatly detest the engineer who devised that for them,
And [so must] the king of Scotland who there lost more.
Then uttered king William a wonderful pleasantry:—
"Indeed this performance appears to me very "costly.
"Rage possesses my heart and such frightful anger,
"Rather would I be taken alive before Tou-"louse."[1]
1260 It is no great wonder if he had a weight at his heart:
At an evil moment he saw Flemings from Flanders and then the king of France.
He knows the truth at last and without mistake,
That he has lost king Henry without any remedy
And can do him no harm by shield or by lance
Nor by engine of war, from which he would have little injury.
When the arbalist failed him he caused the other to be brought:
He wished to burn the castle, he did not know what better to do;
But Jesus the glorious, the Maker of all things,
Changed the wind very contrarily for the king of Scots,
1270 And it began much to please brave Roger:
Now he has such great joy that he never in his life had greater.

---

[1] An expression which would be meaningless if he had not accompanied his brother Malcolm on the Toulouse expedition in 1159.

Dunc dit li reis Willame: “Laissum ester[1] cest siege:
“Jo vei ma gent destruire e mal qui[2] nus abriege.
“Certes, ceste faisance el cuer[3] forment m'agriege:
“Rogier d'Estutevile nus ad[4] trovez al triege.”
§Li reis d'Escoce fist la nuit sun ost[5] eschielguaitier,
Desqu'al demein al aube[6] quant jor apparut cler,
Qu'il fist trestuz ses cuntes e baruns asembler:
“Gentilz baruns chevaliers, ore m'en oiez parler:
“Laissum ester[7] cest siege: n'i poüm espleitier,
“Ainz i avum grant perte: pensez del restorer.[8]
“Faites le fu esprendre, ces loges alumer,
“Voz trefs et voz acubes cuillir e pleier,[9]
“Si faites à Rokesburc[10] trestut mun ost aler.”
Dunc veïssiez ces marchanz e venir[11] e aler,
Destendre ces paveilluns, e ces trefs despleier,[12]
Par cel[13] ost d'Escoce grant noise demener.
De grant descunfiture li pëust remenbrer.
Depart[14] le rei Willame, ki si s'en volt aler.
Atant funt[15] ces loges esprendre e alumer.
Mult fud grant la noise,—ne vus fait à celer—
Ke par cel ost demeine garçon e escuier.
Rogier d'Estutevile ne fud mie lanier,
Ne abunde[16] de guerre ne vilain chevalier.
Unkes de plus sage n'en oïstes parler,

The Scotch abandon the siege of Wark.

---

[1] *estre*, L.
[2] *ke*, L.
[3] *al quor*, L.
[4] *ad*, om. L.
[5] *fist sa gent la nuit*, L.
[6] *Tresqu'al—al alba*, L.
[7] *estre*, L.
[8] *returner*, L
[9] *villir e despleer*, L.
[10] *Rocheburc*, L.
[11] *Dunc vëistes ces mareschaus e vener*, L.
[12] *espleier*, L.
[13] *Par cele*, L.
[14] *De par*, L.
[15] *sunt*, L.
[16] *Ne abobed*. L.

Then said king William: "Let us leave this siege:
" I see my men destroyed, and evil which cuts us " off.
" Certainly this affair grieves me much at heart:
" Roger d'Estuteville has proved our match."
The king of Scotland caused his host to keep watch that night,
Until the morrow at dawn when bright day appeared,
When he gathered together all his earls and barons:
" Noble barons, knights, now hear me speak:
1280 " Let us quit this siege: we can do nothing at it,
" But from it we have great loss: turn your attention to repairing it.
" Kindle the fire, burn these huts,
" Collect and fold your tents and pavilions,
" And let all my army go to Roxburgh."
Then you might see these marshals[1] coming and going,
The pavilions taken down and the tents folded,
Throughout this host of Scotland, making great noise.
Of his great discomfiture he might well have memory.
King William, who wished to leave, departed.
1290 Now they cause the huts to be kindled and burn them.
Great was the noise,—that is not to be hid from you—
That servant and squire make throughout this host.
Roger d'Estutevile was by no means a coward,
Nor timid in war nor a base knight.
Never did you hear speak of a wiser man

---

[1] Following L.

Ne plus mesurable ne plus gentil guerrier.
Quant vit cel ost banie vers Rokesburc[1] aler,
A sun gent[2] barnage cumençad à parler:
“ Ne dites vilanie: pur Deu laissum ester![3] *fo.* 156.
“ Ne cele gent d'Escoce escrier ne huer.[4]
“ Mès Deu nostre pere devum tuz loer,[5]
“ Quant il del rei d'Escoce e de sun ost si fier
“ Nus ad tenu les vies, si l' devom mercier.
“ De juer ne d'enveisier ne vus defend-jo mie,
“ E quant les verrez departir, le rei e s'ost banie,[6]
“ Dunc escriez voz joies chascun de sa partie.
“ Jo refrai la[7] meie, si qu'ele iert oïe.
“ Le fiz fait tort au pere, qui si le cuntralie.”
Dunc oïssiez ces greidles suner par establie:
N'i aveit pas repruece ne dite vilanie,
Mès suns e rotruenges, e regrettent[8] amie.
De corns e de busines mult bele rebundie.
§ Rogier d'Estutevile si est el cuer[9] haitiez,
Si deit-il bien estre: ne vus esmerveilliez,
Kar li reis d'Escoce li ad le sun laissiez.
Il n'ad, la merci Deu, ne perdu ne guaigniez,
Nul de sa[10] maisnée ocis ne afolez,
Chevalier ne serjant dedenz le cors nafrez
Dunt li estëust duner un denier[11] muneiez
A mire de Salerne pur estre[12] medcinez.
Seignurs, si faitierment[13] parti li reis Willame
De Werc, et d'icel siege aurad encore[14] blame.

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[1] *esbanie vers Rokeburc*, L.
[2] *grant*, L.
[3] *lessez ester*, L.
[4] *escrier e huer*, L.
[5] *trestuz loer*, L.
[6] *e sa ost banie*, L.
[7] *jo ferai la*, L.
[8] *regreter*, L.
[9] *al quor*, L.
[10] *Ne nul de sa*, L.
[11] *Dunt li estuit doner un dener*, L.; D. has *duner un denier*.
[12] D. repeats *pur estre*.
[13] *si faitement*, L.
[14] *averad uncore*, L.

Nor a more reasonable, nor a nobler warrior.
When he saw this assembled host going towards Roxburgh,
He began to speak to his gentle barons.
" Say nothing abusive: for God's sake let be!
1300 " Nor shout nor follow with cries these Scotch-" men.
" But we ought all to praise God our Father,
" For he has preserved our lives from the king " of Scotland
" And his host so proud, we are bound to thank " him.
" I by no means forbid you to play or to make " merry,
" And when you see the king and his assembled " host depart
" Then shout your joy, each in his place.
" I shall do the same so that it will be heard.
" The son who thus opposes the father wrongs " him."
Then you might hear the trumpets sounding by ranks:
1310 There were no reproaches or base words uttered,
But songs and ballads and farewells.
Of horns and trumpets very beautiful was the resounding.
Roger d'Estutevile is rejoiced in heart,
So indeed should he be: do not wonder at it,
For the king of Scotland has left him his own.
He has, thank God, neither lost nor gained,
And none of his followers [are] killed or hurt,
Knight nor sergeant wounded in the body
So much as to have to give a coined denier
1320 To a doctor of Salerno for being cured.
Lords, in such a manner did king William depart
From Wark, and he will still have reproach for that siege.

Tant ad el cuer[1] grant ire, a poi qu'il ne se pasme.
Puis a juré un serrement,[2] "saint Andreu e saint Jacme!"
Ne larrad si la guerre pur perdre sun realme.[3]
§Estes-vus Rogier de Munbrai, ki mult[4] saveit de guerre:
A ses dous fiz ainz nez[5] aveit laissié sa terre,
Ses chastels, ses demeines, e il le sorent faire.
Il vint au rei d'Escoce pur prier[6] e pur requerre
Qu'il guerriast tut asëur, kar ço en iert la veire[7]
Qu'il n'iert pas en terre qui li feïst[8] cuntraire.
Ore ad li reis tel joie: unc[9] en sa vie n'ot maire.
Unkes de mal faire ne se voleit[10] retraire.
La nuit fud le cunseil pris cument il le ferunt:

The Scotch army advances on Carlisle.

A Carduil regieres[11] le matin en irrunt, *fo.* 156. *b.*
N'i ad ki cel desdie: mès ore cumencerunt,
De querre lur damage[12] jamès ne finerunt.
Ore est Rogier de Munbrai od le rei d'Aubanie
De guerreer à sun poeir, en force[13] e en aïe,
Si est dan Adam de Porz od grant chevalerie.
Il erent les meillurs guerriers que l'um saveit en vie.
Il aveient jadis esté; mes il n'en sevent mie[14]
Ke Deus ne voldrad lunges cunsentir lur folie.

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[1] *al quor*, L.
[2] *serment*, L.
[3] *sa realme*, L.
[4] *ke mult*, L.
[5] *enz neez*, L.
[6] *preier preier*, L.
[7] *kar ço est le vere*, L.
[8] *que li fait*, L.
[9] *unc*, om. L.
[10] *volt*, L.
[11] *A Kardul regeres*, L.
[12] *dameage*, L.
[13] *en force*, D. and L.; *guerréér*, thus with hair-strokes in D.
[14] *ne sevent mie*, L.

He has such anger in his heart that he nearly swoons from it.
Then he swore an oath, "St. Andrew and St. "James!"
He will not cease from warring, were he to lose his kingdom.
See there Roger de Mowbray, who well knew war:
He has left his lands to his two eldest sons,
His castles, his domains, and they knew what to do.
He came to the king of Scotland to beg and entreat him
1330 That he would be sure to fight, for it was the fact
That there was no one in the country who could oppose him.
Now has the king such joy: never in his life had he more.
Never would he draw back from evil-doing.
In the night was the resolution taken how they will act:
To royal Carlisle they will go in the morning,
There is no one who contradicts: but now they will begin,
They will never cease to seek their own hurt.
Now is Roger de Mowbray with the king of Albany
To war according to his power in force and as auxiliary.
1340 So is lord Adam de Port[1] with great chivalry.
They were the best warriors that were known to be living.
They had been so formerly; but they are not at all aware
That God will not long consent to their folly.

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[1] Dugd. Baron., i. 463.

Vait s'en li reis Willame od sa grant ost banie[1]
Vers Carduil la bele, la fort[2] cité guarnie,
Dan Rogier de Munbrai e sa chevalerie,
E dan Adam de Porz à ses Marchiz se lie.
Les cuntes d'Escoce meinent la gent haïe,
Ki[3] unkes n'orent pitié de faire diablie.
Tant eirent lur jornées,—ne sai[4] que plus vus die,—
Qu'il poent vëeir Carduil de beauté[5] replenie:
Les murs e les tureles li soleilz esclarzie.[6]
Ki ad enveisié gumfanun, volentiers le desplie,
E sunent ces busines de chascune[7] establie:
Noise pëussiez oïr en la cité fremie;
Mes dan Robert de Vaus ducement l'en prie
Ne seient esmaiez, ne facent cuardie;
Kar, si Deus le maintient sains e sauf sa vie,
Ne dute[8] de rien cel ost ne le rei d'Albanie.
Li reis apele Rogier e Adam en cunseil,
Wautier de Berkelai, ki iert un sun[9] fedeil:
" Ore veez, francs chevaliers, mult gentil appareil;
" Ne savez acunter le blanc ne le vermeil,
" Tant i ad gumfanuns cuntremunt le soleil!
" Alez-mei à Robert, dites que jo li mand
" Rende-mei le chastel dès ici en avant:
" Il aurad[10] nul succurs de nul hume vivant,
" Ne li reis d'Engleterre ne li ert mès guarant;
" E s'il ço[11] ne volt faire, bien li seiez jurant
" Il en perdrad le chief[12] e murrunt si enfant.
" Ne li larrai un sul ne ami ne parent fo. 157.

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[1] *od sa gent esbanie*, L.
[2] *la forte*, L.
[3] *Que*, L.
[4] *jurnes, ne sa*, L.
[5] *ver Cardul de balté*, L.
[6] *turrels li soleil esclazie*, L.
[7] *chascun*, L.
[8] *dutent*, L.
[9] *que ert en sun*, L.
[10] *I n'averad*, L.
[11] *ceo*, L.
[12] *le chif*, L.

King William with his vast collected host departs
Towards Carlisle the beautiful, the strong garrisoned city,
Lord Roger de Mowbray and his chivalry,
And lord Adam de Port joins his Borderers.
The earls of Scotland lead the hated race
Who never had scruple about doing devilries.
1350 They so perform their march—I know not what more to tell you—
That they could see Carlisle filled with beauty:
The sun lights up the walls and turrets.
Whoever has a gay banner willingly displays it,
And the trumpets sound from every rank:
Noise you might hear in the trembling city;
But lord Robert de Vaus gently begs men
Not to be alarmed nor to play the coward;
For, if God keeps his life safe and sound,
He by no means fears this host or the king of Albany.
1360 The king calls Roger and Adam to his council,
Walter of Berkeley,[1] who was one of his lieges:
" Now behold, noble knights, a very grand array;
" You cannot count the white or the red
" There are so many banners against the sun!
" Go for me to Robert, say that I summon him
" To surrender the castle henceforward:
" He will have no relief from any living man
" Nor will the king of England ever be his surety;
" And if he will not do that, swear roundly to him
1370 " That he shall lose his head for it, and his children
" shall die.
" I will not leave him a single friend or relation

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[1] See Chalmers' Caledonia, i. p. 529.

"Ke trestuit ne's eissille,[1] s'il ne fait mun cumant."
Ore s'en vunt[2] les baruns la triewe demandant,
Vunt à Robert de Vaus[3] là ù il iert en estant;
Un hauberc ot vestu, à un kernel puiant,
E teneit en sa mein un espée trenchant[4]
Od trenchant alemele, bel l'alot maniant;
E vit le messagier ki l'alot apelant,
De lui e de sa gent la triewe demandant,
E il li respundi: "Amis, qu'alez querant?[5]
"Tost i purriez laissier le petit e le grant."
E dit li[6] messagier: "Ço n'est pas avenant:
"Ne deit l'um messagier sun message portant
"Laidir[7] ne afoler; dire puet sun talent."
E dit Robert de Vaus[8]: "Ore venez plus avant,
"Dites vostre plaisir; ne seiez rien[9] dutant."

Carlisle summoned to surrender.

Seignurs, si faitement ad li message parlé
A Robert, ki[10] est le chief, e à tut le barné:
"Sire Robert de Vaus,[11] pruz estes e sené.
"Messagier sui le rei, il est mun avué;
"Il vus mande par mei saluz e amistié.
"Rendez-lui le chastel ki est sun herité:
"Ses ancestres l'orent jà lunges en quieté;
"Mès li[12] reis d'Engleterre l'en ad desherité,
"Ço vus mande[13] par mei, à tort e à pechié.
"Si savez, si vus plaist, que ço est verité.
"Ne fustes pas enfant ne d'enfantil eé[14]
"Ke vus cest ne[15] véïstes e trestut le regné.

---

[1] *eissil*, L.
[2] *s'en vunt*, L.; *s'en unt*, D.
[3] *Vint à Robert de Waus*, L.
[4] *un espeie mult trechant*, L.
[5] *E lui respundi: "Amis, k'alez-vus querant?"* L.
[6] *E dit lui*, L.
[7] *Laider*, L.
[8] *Dit Robert de Vals*, L.
[9] *ne seez nïent*, L.
[10] *que*, L.
[11] *Vals*, L. here and elsewhere.
[12] *lui*, L.
[13] *Ço lui mande*, L.
[14] *ne d'enfantel hé*, L.
[15] *Ke vus ço ne*, L.

" Whom I will not exile, if he does not execute
" my orders."
Now the barons go to demand the capitulation,
They go to Robert de Vaus, (to) where he was
abiding,
He was dressed in a hauberk, was leaning against
a battlement,
And was holding in his hand a sharp sword
With a keen edge, he handled it gracefully;
And he saw the messenger who came calling him,
And asking a capitulation of him and of his men,
1380 And he answered him: "Friend, what do you
" come to request?
" You might just let alone the whole business!"
And the messenger said: "That is not gracious:
" One ought not to insult or ill-use a messenger
" Carrying his message; he can speak at his
" pleasure."
And Robert de Vaus said: " Now come nearer,
" Tell your pleasure; and fear nothing."
Lords, in this manner the messenger spoke
To Robert, who is the chief, and to all the
baronage:
" Lord Robert de Vaus, you are brave and wise.
1390 " I am the king's messenger, he is my liege lord;
" He sends to you by me greeting and friendship.
" Restore to him the castle which is his birthright:
" His ancestors had it formerly for a long while in
" peace,
" But the king of England disinherited him of it
" Wrongfully and wickedly: that message he sends
" you by me.
" And you know, if you please, that this is the
" truth.
" You were not a child, nor of childish age
" That you and all the kingdom did not see this.

" Ore li faites amur par devant sun barné:
1400 " Rendez-lui le chastel e tut le fermeté,[1]
" E il tant vus dura del argent muneé
" Unkes Hubert de Vaus tant n'en out asemblé.
§ " Rendez-lui le chastel par tel devisiun,
" E devenez sun hume par tel conditiun:
1405 " Tant vus durrad aveir[2] entre or fin e mangun,
" E plus encore asez que nus ne vus dium.
" Si vus cest ne graantez[3] pur lui desheriter, *fo.* 157. *b.*
" Ne devez en nul lieu en sun cors afier:
" Il fera le chastel de sa gent asiegier,
1410 " N'en istrez à nul jor senz vostre desturbier;
" E s'il puet le chastel par force cunquester,
" Jà li reis d'Engleterre ne vus aura mestier
" Ne tut l'or de sun regne k'il pëust asembler,
" Qu'il ne vus face detraire e à male mort
" jugier."[4]
1415 Quant ço oïd dan Robert, si fud de grant mesure:
" N'avum suin de tencier ne de manace cure.
" Nus eimes ci dedenz bone gent assëure:[5]
" Fel seit ki se rendra tant cum[6] viande li
" dure!
" Dites-mei, message,[7]—ke Deus vus duinst honur!
1420 " Alez au rei d'Escoce, ki[8] est vostre seignur;
" Dites ke jo li mand ne li toil nul honur
" Ne fieus ne heritez, ne ne frai à nul jor;

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[1] *formeté*, L.
[2] L. omits *aveir.*
[3] *grantez*, L.
[4] *mort liverer*, L.
[5] This line is not in L.
[6] *que se rendrea tant cume*, L.
[7] *messager*, L.
[8] *Que*, L.

"Now make friendship with him before his no-
"bility:
1400 "Give him back the castle and all the fortress,
"And he will give you such a sum in coined
"silver
"As Hubert de Vaus never had brought together.
"Surrender to him his castle on such terms,
"And become his vassal on such conditions:
"So much wealth he will give you in pure gold
"and golden[1] coin,
"And much more besides that we do not tell
"you of.
"If, for the purpose of disinheriting him, you do
"not grant this,
"You must nowhere trust him.
"He will have the castle besieged by his followers,
1410 "You will not go out of it any day without
"molestation;
"And if he can take the castle by force
"The king of England will be of no use to you,
"Nor all the gold of his kingdom which he might
"collect
"Could prevent your being seized and delivered
"up to a cruel death."
When lord Robert heard that he was very calm:
"We neither care for his contentions nor heed his
"threats,
"We here within are good, trustworthy people:
"A traitor will he be who shall surrender while
"provisions last!
"Say for me, messenger—God give you honour!
1420 "Go to the king of Scotland, who is your lord,
"Say that I neither give him nor take from him
"any estate,
"Or fief or inheritance, neither will I ever do so;

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[1] See Du Cange, under *Mancusa*. A *mangun* was equal to two besants.

“ Mès voist au rei Henri, si face sa clamur
“ Que jo tieng de Carduil[1] le chastel e la tur
“ Par force cuntre lui cume[2] vers guerreiur;
“ E si mi sire li reis en ait vers mei irrur,
“ Enveit-mei sun message, mès nul[3] traïtur,
“ Ki me die de sue part: ‘Rendez sus cest “ ‘ honur[4]
“ ‘ Volentiers e[5] de gré: n'i aurad nul retur.’ ”

Robert de Vaus agrees to surrender Carlisle if not relieved after application to king Henry.

§“ E s'il ço ne volt[6] faire, si faimes cuvenant:
“ Tant me duinsez respit ke seie mer passant,
“ E dirrai mun seignur, Henri le rei[7] vaillant,
“ Qu'il li rende sun honur tant cum il vait querant—
“ Carduil le chastel quanqu'i ad apendant.[8]
“ Dunc est-il assëur, si jo 'n ai le cumant,[9]
“ Certes; u, si ço nun, pur murir ci devant,
“ Le chastel mun seignur ne li serrai rendant.”
§Quant le message lu rei lu respuns out oï,
Il dist à ses cumpaignuns: “Unckes mès tel “ nè vi.
“ Se li reis mun seignur n'en ait[10] de lui merci,
“ Petit pris le barnage quanqu'il ad ci[11] bani.”
E dit à Robert de Vaus: “Nus en irrum d'ici;
“ Mar veïstes Karduil od tut le rei Henri.” *fo.* 158.

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[1] *Karduil*, L.
[2] *cum*, L.
[3] *mès neint*, L.
[4] *Que me die de sa part: “ Rendez-lui cel honur,”* L.
[5] *e*, om. L.
[6] *ne ne volt*, L.
[7] *rei*, om. L.
[8] *pendant*, L.
[9] *si en ad le covenant*, L.
[10] *seignur en eit*, L.
[11] *barnage que il ad ci*, L.

" But let him go to king Henry, let him make his
" complaint
" That I hold the castle and the tower of Carlisle
" By force against him, as against one who is
" making war;
" And if my lord the king be displeased with me
" for it,
" Let him send me his messenger, but no traitor,
" Who may say on his behalf: 'Surrender this
" 'fief
" 'Readily and willingly: there will be no giving
" 'back,'
1430 " And, if he will not do that, let us make a
" covenant:
" Give me so long respite that I may cross the sea,
" And I will tell my lord, Henry the valiant
" king,
" That he is to return to him his fief just as he
" demands—
" The castle of Carlisle and whatever appertains
" to it.
" Then is he sure, if I have quite certainly the
" command for it;
" Or, if not that, were I to die here before
" The castle of my lord, I will not surrender it to
" him."
When the king's messenger had heard the answer
He said to his companions: "Never did I see the
" like of this.
1440 " If my lord the king have no pity on him,
" All the baronage he has called together here is
" not worth much."
And he said to Robert de Vaus: "We will go
" hence;
" Woe to you that you ever saw Carlisle with
" king Henry."

Atant sunt li message d’iloques departi,
E dient lur seignur quanqu’il[1] aveient oï:
“ Sire, reis d’Escoce, or oiez le mandement.
“ Robert vus mande par mei ne vus dute nïent;
“ Ne rendra le chastel pur or ne pur argent,
“ Ne pur Escoce d’acreis, se il l’aveit en present,
“ E ainz[2] se larreit murir, veiant tute sa gent.
“ Il ad enz el chastel asez vin[3] e furment.
“ Si sunt à un[4] acort entre lui e sa gent.
“ Dire m’estuvrad[5] trestut quanqu’à messagier apent.
“ Rien ne vus volt tolir d’iço qu’à vus[6] apent;
“ Mès, s’il veïst sun seignur à qui l’onur apent
“ E li rovast issir par[7] sun cumandement,
“ E deïst[8] de sa buche à lui tant sulement:
“ ‘ Rendez au rei Willame,[9] ’ mult le freit bonement;
“ E il li frad saveir[10] tost e hastivement.”
E dist li reis Willame: “ Ço est sun gabbement.’
Li reis out cunseilliers, si sieut tut lur afaire;
Ne fist à cele feiz à Robert nul cuntraire,
Ainz alad à Appelbi, là endreit[11] tint sun eire.
N’i aveit nule gent: pur ço le prist en eire.
Li reis aveit mult tost le chastel d’Appelbi;[12]

---

[1] *quant qu’il*, L.

[2] *Einz*, omitting *E*, L.

[3] *Il ad el chastel vin*, L.

[4] *Si est à un*, L.

[5] *Dire m’estuverad*, L.

[6] *Rien ne volt tolir de ço ke à vus*, L.

[7] *pur*, L.

[8] *E dist*, L.

[9] *Rendez-le al rei Willeme*, L.

[10] *ferad saver*, L.

[11] *Apelbi là ’ndreit*, L.

[12] *de Apelbi*, L. The same spelling elsewhere.

Thereupon the messengers departed thence
And tell their lord all they had heard:
"Sire, king of Scotland, now hear the message.
"Robert sends you word by me that he fears you "not;
"He will not give up the castle for gold or for "silver,
"Nor for Scotland into the bargain, if he had it "as a gift.
1450 "Rather would he allow himself to die in the "sight of all his people.
"There is within the castle enough wine and "corn,
"And there is accord between him and his men.
"I must say all that pertains to a messenger.
"He does not wish to take from you anything "which is yours;
"But if he could see his lord to whom the fief "belongs,
"And he ordered him to withdraw by his com-"mand,
"And only said thus much to him with his own "mouth:
"'Surrender [it] to king William,' he would do it "very willingly;
"And he will inform him [of it] soon and "speedily."
1460 And king William said: "This is a joke of his."
The king had counsellors, he knew all their business;
He did not on this occasion oppose Robert,
But he went to Appleby, thither he marched.
There were no people there: therefore he took it quickly.
The king had very soon the castle of Appleby;

Capture of Appleby by the Scotch.

N'i aveit nule gent, si fud tut desguarni.
Cospatric le fiz Horm,[1] un viel Engleis fluri,
Esteit li cunestable; si cria tost merci.
Li reis out ubblié par itant sa dolur
1470 Quant aveit[2] Appelbi, le chastel e la tur;
E vait mult maneçant le rei, nostre seignur,
Henri le fiz Mahaut, a qui Deu duinst honur!
A veintre tuz iceus li duinst force e vigur
Ki[3] sunt encuntre lui pur lui tolir s'onur!
1475 §Li reis Willame d'Escoce ad jà pris Appelbi,[4]
E Rogier de Munbrai qui esteit sis amis,
E mettent là dedenz lur serjanz Marchis,
E treis cunestables el chastel[5] unt asis;
Asez unt entre eus grant risée[6] e grant ris: *fo.* 158. *b.*
1480 Il ne's quident mès perdre[7] desqu'al jor de Juis.

They take Brough.

A Burc volent aler: le cunseil fud tost pris.
Se il ne lur est renduz, n'en istra un sul vis;
Mès le chastel ne fud del tut issi esquis
Qu'il n'i ot là dedenz chevaliers plus de sis.[8]
1485 Le chastel fud mult tost de tutes parz asis;
Si lur funt dur assaut e Flamens et Marchis,
E unt le premier jor sur els le baile pris,

---

[1] *Horin,* with hair-stroke, L.

[2] D. omits a necessary word; L. supplies *aveit.*

[3] *Que,* L.

[4] *Apelbis,* L.

[5] *en le chastel,* L.

[6] *risé,* L.

[7] *Il ne l' queident mès perdre,* L.; D. omits *perdre.*

[8] *pluis de dis,* L.

There were no people in it, so it was quite unguarded,
Cospatric[1] the son of Horm, an old grey-haired Englishman,
Was the constable; he soon cried mercy.
The king had nearly forgotten his grief
1470 When he had Appleby, the castle and the tower;
And threatens much the king, our lord,
Henry the son of Matilda, to whom God give honour!
May strength and vigour be given him to vanquish all those
Who are against him to take away his possessions!
King William of Scotland has already taken Appleby,
And Roger de Mowbray who was his friend,
And put therein their Border sergeants,
And have placed three constables in the castle;
They have amongst themselves great fun and laughter:
1480 They think never to lose them until the Day of Judgment.
To Brough[2] they wish to go: the resolution was soon taken.
If it is not surrendered to them, no one shall go out of it alive;
But the castle was not altogether so unprovided
That there were not in it more than six knights.
The castle was very soon besieged on all sides;
Both the Flemings and the Borderers make a vigorous assault upon them,
And have on the first day taken from them the stockade,

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[1] See Nicolson and Burn's History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland, i., p. 465, and Pipe Roll 9 Hen. II. p. 10 (Carlisle).

[2] Brough-under-Stanemore.

E eus tost l'unt guerpi e[1] en la tur se sunt mis.
Ore sunt en cele tur, curtes ures durrunt;[2]
Kar il mettent[3] le fu: là dedenz les ardrunt.
[Ne sevent nul cunseil ne que fere purrunt;
Jà est li fieu espris: ore endreit ardrunt.][4]
" Par ma fei, beau sire,[5] si vus plaist, nu ferunt;[6]
" Ainz frunt que chevalier: al rei se tendrunt,
" Kar il veient très bien nul sucurs n'aurunt."
Ne poënt plus suffrir: au rei rendu se sunt.
Ço est faite fesance iço qu'il[7] ore funt.
Au rei se sunt renduz, granz dolurs ès cuers unt.[8]
§Mès un chevalier noveaus lur iert le jor venuz.
Ore oiez de ses fiz[9] e de ses granz vertuz:
Puis que ses cumpaignuns se furent tuit renduz,
Remist-il en la tur e saisi dous escuz,
Si's pendi as kerneaus,[10] lungement s'est tenuz,
E lança as Escuz[11] treis espiez esmuluz;
A chascun des espiez ad un mort abatuz.
Quant ceus li sunt failliz, si reprent peus aguz
E lançad as Escoz, si en ad cunfunduz;
E tuz jorz vait criant: "Jà serrez tuz vencuz."
Unc[12] d'un sul vassal ne fud estur mielz tenuz.

---

[1] *e*, om. L.
[2] *durent*, L.
[3] *mettent*, om. L.
[4] D. omits these two lines.
[5] *bels sires*, L.
[6] *nun ferunt*, L.
[7] *ço k'il*, L.
[8] *as quors unt*, L.
[9] *fez*, L.
[10] *as cornels*, L.
[11] *Escoz*, L.
[12] *unques*, L.

And they soon have abandoned it, and placed themselves in the tower.
Now they are in this tower, few hours will they hold out;
1490 For they set fire to it: they will burn those inside it.
They neither know (of) any resource nor what they can do;
Already the fire has caught: now there they will be burnt.
" By my faith, noble sire, if you please, they will " not do so,
" Rather will they act like knights: they will " offer [to capitulate to] the king,
" For they see very well that they will have no " succour."
They cannot endure longer: to the king they have surrendered.
That is a right act which they now do.
To the king they have surrendered, great sorrow have they in their hearts.
But a new knight came to them that day.
1500 Now hear of his deeds, and of his great strength:
When his companions had all surrendered,
He returned to the tower and seized two shields,
He hung them on the battlements, stayed there a long time,
And hurled at the Scots three sharp javelins:
With each of the javelins he struck a man dead.
When those failed him, he takes sharp stakes
And hurled them at the Scots; so he confounded some of them:
And ever he goes on shouting: "Soon shall you " all be vanquished."
Never by a single vassal was a conflict better maintained.

Quant li fus li toli le defens des escuz,
Ne fait pas à blasmer s'il s'est[1] idunc renduz.
Ore est Burc abatuz e le mielz de la tur.
[Ore est Robert de Vals alque en effrëur.][2]
Il enveit sun message dedenz meïsmes le jor
A Richart de Luci, ki[3] li dit la verrur,
Ke pris est Appelbi trestut en la primur,
E le chastel de Burc, que guaires n'est pejur.[4]
“ Ore n'ai de nule part aïe ne sucur, fo. 159.
“ E bien quid que li[5] reis me rendra dur estur.”
E[6] dit Richard de Luci: “Ore face le meillur,
“ Guard que pur nule rien ne vienge boisdëur;[7]
“ Mès se il aime Henri sun bon seignur,
“ Pur lui deit endurer peines e dolur.
“ Jo lui mand de ma part saluz e amur

News of the approaching return of the king (June, 1174).

“ E novele del rei. Ainz vienge quinzime jor[8]
“ 'l averad en Engleterre, si Deu plaist le Salveur.”
Quant ço oïd Robert, si li vint la culur;
Ki ore ainz esteit maz, ore est en baudur.
§De Richart de Luci ore oiez la[9] verité:
Par sun sen qu'il ad bon e sa grant lëauté,
Sun seignur de là mer par ses briés ad mandé.
L'evesque de Wincestre,[10] cum il fud devisé,
Il mëismes i alad par mult grant amistié,

---

[1] *S'il est*, L.
[2] D. omits this line.
[3] *que*, L.
[4] *pëur*, L.
[5] *E sai que li*, L.
[6] *E*, om. L.
[7] *ne devenge boseur*, L.
[8] *quinze jur*, L.
[9] *la*, om. L.
[10] *Le evesque de Winecestre*, L.

1510 When the fire deprived him of the defence of his shields,
He is not to blame if he then surrendered.
Now is Brough demolished, and the best of the tower.
Now is Robert de Vaus somewhat alarmed.
He sends to Richard de Lucy on the same day
His messenger, who tells him the truth,
That Appleby was taken at dawn,
And the castle of Brough, which is hardly worse [news].
" Now I have from no side aid or succour,
" And, indeed, I believe that the king will give " me harsh treatment."
1520 And said Richard de Lucy: "Now let him do " the best,
" Let him take care that on no account he become " a deceiver;
" But if he loves Henry his good lord,
" For him he must endure trouble and sorrow.
" I send him on my own behalf greeting and love
" And news of the king. Before fifteen days are " past[1]
" He will have him in England, if it please God " the Saviour."
When Robert heard that, the colour came in his face;
He who before was sad, now is joyful.
1530 Of Richard de Lucy now hear the truth:
Through the good sense he has and his great loyalty,
He has summoned his lord from beyond seas by his letters.
The bishop of Winchester,[2] as it was settled,
Himself went there from very great friendship,

---

[1] Henry the elder crossed on July 8.

[2] Richard of Ilchester.

E dit al rei Henri: “Saluz aiez de Deu![1]
“ Engleterre vus salue cume sun avué,
“ Dan[2] Richart de Luci e tut l'autre barné,
“ Ki[3] se tienent od vus. Mès oiez la verité.
“ Ço ne sunt mie dis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,
“ Ki se tiengent od vus en dreite lëauté.”[4]
§Dunc demande li reis: “Ke fait dunkes Richart,
“ De Luci le lëaus? Est-il de meie part?”
“Oïl, sire, pur veir, il n'i rent pas en dart;
“ Ainz[5] se larreit lacier à un fust d'une[6] hart.”
§“E li cuens d'Arundel, cum est-il[7] cuntenant?
“ Tient se il ovoc mei?[8] vait-nus-il guerreiant
“Sire, par la meie fei! ainz est vostre bien voillant.
“ En trestuz voz busuinz, el premier[9] chef devant.”
§“E Humfrei de Boün, cum s'est-il[10] cuntenuz?
“ Envers mes enemis est-se-il cumbatuz?”[11]
“Sire, par la meie fei! jo'n voil[12] estre crëuz,
“ Ço est uns des plus lëiaus ki[13] od vus seit tenuz.”
§“Par devers Everwic cument funt les baruns?
“ E ceus d'Estutevile, tienent-il lur meisuns?”
“Certes, sire, s'il vus plaist,[14] très bien le savums, *fo.* 159. *b.*
“ De ceus d'Estutevile ne vindrent traïsuns.”[15]
“E l'eslit de Nincole, cum est-il ès païs?[16]
“ Set-il puint guerreier cuntre ses enemis?”
“Il est, sire, veirement vostre charneus amis;[17]

---

[1] *selveiz seiez de Dé*, L.
[2] *Da*, D.; *Dan*, L.
[3] *Ke*, L.
[4] *Ke tiengent . . endreit de lealté*, L.
[5] *ein* (sic), L.
[6] *de une*, L.
[7] *est-il*, D. L.
[8] *od moi*, L.
[9] *est el primer*, L.
[10] *cum est-il*, L.
[11] *cum s'et-il cumbatuz*, L.
[12] *jo voil*, L.
[13] *Ceo est un des leus ke*, L.
[14] *si vus plest*, L.
[15] *unc treisuns*, L.
[16] *Nichole, cum est-il el païs*, L.
[17] *vos charnals amis*, L.

And said to king Henry: "May you have salva-
  "tion from God!
"England greets you as her protector,
"Lord Richard de Lucy and all the rest of the
  "barons
"Who stand by you. But hear the truth.
"There are not ten, so may the Lord God help me,
"Who stand by you in true loyalty."
1540 Then asks the king: "What then is Richard doing,
"De Lucy the loyal? Is he on my side?"
"Yes, sire, in truth, he does not join it in vain,
"Rather would he allow himself to be tied to a
  "tree by a rope."
"And the earl of Arundel, how is he behaving?
"Does he hold with me? Is he making war
  "against us?"
"Sire, by my faith! on the contrary he is your
  "well-wisher.
"In all your need, he is the first and foremost."
"And Humphrey de Bohun, how has he
  "behaved?
"Has he fought against my enemies?"
1550 "Sire, by my faith! I wish to be believed in it,
"He is one of the most loyal of those who have
  "been faithful to you."
"How did the barons act near York?
"And those of d'Estutevile, do they hold their
  "houses?"
"Certainly, sire, if you please, we know it very
  "well.
"From those of Estutevile never treason came."
"And the [bishop] elect of Lincoln,[1] how is he
  "in the country?
"Can he not make war against his enemies?"
"He is, sire, in truth of your own blood,

---

[1] Geoffrey, natural son of Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford, or Ykenai, as Walter Map says, *De Nug. Cur.* 228, 235 (Camden Soc.).

“ Asez ad chevaliers e bons serjanz Marchis.”
“ Thomas le fiz Bernard e sis freres ausi
“ Sunt auques suvent od Richart de Luci ?”
“ Certes, sire, s’il vus plaist, il vus sunt mult “ ami,
“ E Rogier le Bigot ki unkes[1] ne failli.”
§ “ Kar me dites ore veir de ma terre la north:
“ Rogier d’Estutevile ad il fait nul alcort ?”[2]
“ Ainz i murrunt mil humes, sire, de male “ mort
“ Ke Rogier vus mesface ne à dreit ne à tort.”
“ Randulf de Glanvile[3] est-il en Richemunt,
“ E dan Robert de Vaus ?[4] Ces dous baruns que “ funt ?”
Dunc geta li messages un suspir de parfunt;
E li reis li ad dit: “ Ices suspirs[5] dunt sunt ?
“ Ad dunc Robert de Vaus faite traïsun ?[6]
“ Ad-il Carduil rendu ? ne dites si veir[7] nun.”
“ Mès le tient noblement cume gentil barun.
“ De sun grant desturbier dreiz est que vus “ dium.
“ Li reis d’Escoce vint l’autr’ier par Carduil “ chevalchant
“ E dan Robert de Vaus durement maneçant,
“ Demanda-lui le chastel par itel cuvenant
“ Qu’il li durreit asez dunt il serreit manant;
“ E, s’il ço ne fait dès idunc en avant,
“ Tuz les frad[8] afamer, li petit e li grant.”
“ Par ma fei ! ” ço dist li reis, “ ci ad[9] bon “ cuvenant.
“ ‘ En poi d’ure Deu labure,’ ço dit li mendiant.
“ Ke fist dunc li Escot ? asiega-il Karduil ?”

---

[1] *que unques*, L.

[2] *acort*, L.

[3] *Glamvile*, L.

[4] *de Vals*, L. here and elsewhere.

[5] *ces suspirs*, L.

[6] *de Vals fete nule traïsun*, L.

[7] *vers*, L.

[8] *ferad*, L.

[9] *fei! dit li reis ici ad*, L.

" He has plenty of knights and good sergeants of
" the marches."
1560 " Thomas FitzBernard and his brother also,
" Are they also often with Richard de Lucy ?"
" Certainly, sire, if you please, they are very
" friendly to you,
" And Roger le Bigod who never failed."
" Tell me now the truth about my northern land :
" Has Roger d'Estutevile made any treaty ?"
" Rather would a thousand men, sire, die there a
" cruel death
" Than that Roger should harm you rightfully or
" wrongfully."
" Ranulph de Glanvile is he at Richmond,
" And lord Robert de Vaus ? What are these two
" barons doing ?"
1570 Then the messenger heaved a deep sigh ;
And the king said to him : " Why these sighs ?
" Has then Robert de Vaus been guilty of treason ?
" Has he surrendered Carlisle ? Say nothing but
" truth."
" But he holds it nobly like a noble baron.
" Of his great trouble it is right we should tell you.
" The king of Scotland came riding by Carlisle
" the other day
" And threatening lord Robert de Vaus fiercely,
" Demanded of him the castle on this condition,
" That he would give him enough wherewith to
" become rich ;
1580 " And if he did not do this forthwith,
" He would starve them all, both small and great."
" By my faith !" thus said the king, " here are
" good conditions,
" 'God works quickly,' so says the beggar.[1]
" What then did the Scot do ? did he besiege
" Carlisle ?"

---

[1] M. Michel remarks this proverb in several places, *e.g.*, the *Chronique de Rains*, p. 146, "Mais en " poi d'eure Diex labeure."

“ Nenil, sire, si vus pleist, ainz fist[1] greinur orguil ;
“ Ainz ad pris Appelbi, dunt jo forment m’en duil.[2]
“ E le chastel de Burc, bien acuintier[3] vus voil.”
“ Cument, cheles” dist li reis, “ est dunc Appelbi pris ?”
“ Oïl, sire, veirement, e trestut le païs :
“ Ço ad mult esbaudi[4] voz mortels enemis. *fo.* 160.
“ Tels se tindrent od vus, ki se sunt à els pris.[5]
“ Sire, pur Robert de Vaus sui-jo ci enveiez :
“ Ne li puet mès venir ne li vins ne li blez,
“ Ne devers Richemunt ne serra mès aidiez ;
“ S’il n’ad hastif[6] sucurs, tut serrad afamez.
“ Puis iert Northumberland del tut en tut guastez,
“ Odinel de Humfranvile[7] enfin desheritez :
“ Le Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine serrad agraventez,
“ Willame de Vesci, ses terres e ses fiez :
“ Li Escot i curent par tut cume malfez.”
“ Par Deu !” ço dit li reis, “ ço serreit grant pitiez.”
Dunc li lerment les oilz : parfunt ad suspirez.
“ E[8] cheles, que fait l’eveske de Dureaume[9] ?”
“ Il est trestut à un e li reis Willeaume.[10]”
“ Saint Thomas,” dist li reis, “ guardez-mei mun reaume ![11]

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[1] *en fit*, L.
[2] *me duil*, L.
[3] *acunter*, L.
[4] *abaudi*, L.
[5] *Tels se tindrent od vus, ke sunt ad els pris*, L. ; D. omits the words *od vus*.
[6] *S’il n’i ad hastif*, L.
[7] *Humfrenvile*, L.
[8] L. omits *E*.
[9] *Dureume*, L.
[10] *e le rei Willeme*, L.
[11] *gardez-moi ma realme*, L.

" By no means, sire, if you please, on the contrary
" he did a prouder act,
" For he has taken Appleby, at which I very much
" grieve,
" And the castle of Brough, I wish to inform you."
" How now, friend,[1]" said the king, "is then
" Appleby taken?"
" Yes, sire, truly, and all the country:
1590 " That has greatly encouraged your mortal ene-
" mies.
" Some who were faithful to you have allied them-
" selves with them.
" Sire, on behalf of Robert de Vaus am I sent here:
" Henceforth neither wine nor corn can reach him,
" Not from Richmond will he ever be succoured;
" If he is not quickly relieved, everyone will be
" starved.
" Then will Northumberland be wholly devastated,
" Odinel de Umfravile in short disinherited:
" Newcastle-on-Tyne will be destroyed,
" And William de Vesci's lands and fiefs:
1600 " The Scots run everywhere like demons."
"By God!" so said the king, "that were a great
" pity.'
Then his eyes shed tears: deeply did he sigh.
" And what, friend,[1] is the bishop of Durham
" doing?"
" He is all one with king William."
" Saint Thomas," said the king, "guard my king-
" dom for me!

---

[1] A provisional word only. *Cheles* cannot here be the equivalent of *catulus* or be translated "good fellow."

"A vus me rent cupable dunt li autre unt le
"blasme.
"Beaus sire," dist li reis, "dites-mei verité,
"Cument funt mes baruns de Lundres ma cité?"
"Si m'aït Damne-Deu ki maint[1] en Trinité,
"La plus leale gent de tut[2] vostre regné.
"N'i ad nul en la vile ki[3] seit de tel eë
"Ki puisse[4] porter armes, ne seit très bien armé.
"Mar quiderez nient endreit d'eus nule mal-
"veistié.[5]
"Mès, sire, d'une[6] rien ore seiez acuintié:
"Gilebert de Munfichet sun chastel ad fermé,
"E dit que les Clarreaus[7] vers lui sunt alié."
"E Deus!" ço dist li reis, "ore en pernez[8] pitié,
"Guardez mes baruns de Lundres[9] ma cité.
"Alez-ent, sire evesque, enz en vostre païs.
"Si Deus santé me dune, e jo puisse estre vis,
"Vus m'aurez[10] à Lundres ainz vienge quinze dis,
"E prendrai vengement de tuz mes enemis."
Il fait mander sa gent, ses bons serjanz de pris,
E cuntes e baruns, n'i ad un sul remis;[11]
Roem[12] lur ad cumandé, kar il sunt ses amis.
Li evesques repaire, cum jo ore ainz[13] vus dis; *fo.* 160. *b.*
E Richart de Luci, qui unc[14] ne fud esquis,
Les noveles le rei volentiers ad enquis:
"Sire," fait li evesques, "jà s' est uns reis de pris:
"Ne dute les Flamengs vaillant à un alis;[15]

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[1] *que meint*, L.
[2] *lele gent de tute*, L.
[3] *ke*, L.
[4] *Que puisse*, L.
[5] *de els malvesté*, L.
[6] *de une*, L.
[7] *Clarels*, L.
[8] *reis quar en pernez*, L.
[9] *Gardez-mei mes baruns à Lundres*, L.
[10] *Vus m'averez*, L.
[11] *n'i ad nul remis*, L.
[12] *Rom*, L.
[13] *or einz*, L.
[14] *que unques*, L.
[15] *vaillant un alis*, L.

"To you I declare myself guilty of that for which
"others have the blame."[1]
"Fair lord," said the king, "tell me the truth,
"How are the brave men of my city of London
"acting?"
"So may the Lord God who rules in Trinity
"help me,
1610 "They [are] the most loyal people of all your
"kingdom.
"There is no one in the town who is of age
"To bear arms, who is not well armed.
"You would wrongly believe any evil of them.
"But, sire, of one thing now be informed:
"Gilbert de Munfichet[2] has fortified his castle,
"And says that the Clares are leagued with him."
"O God!" so said the king, "now have pity,
"Preserve the brave men of my city of London."
"Depart, lord bishop, to your country.
1620 "If God give me health, and I be alive,
"You will have me in London before fifteen days
"are past,
"And I will take vengeance on all my enemies."
He summons his men, his valued good sergeants,
And earls and barons, there is not one who is
negligent;
Rouen he has confided to them, for they are his
friends.
The bishop returns, as I just now told you;
And Richard de Luci, who never was to seek,
Has eagerly enquired news of the king:
"Sir," says the bishop, "he is a worthy king:
1630 "He does not care a berry for the Flemings;

---

[1] Can the allusion be to the murder of Becket?

[2] See Dugd. *Monast.* (Ed. 1655) i. 370, 482; also ii. 384, 29, for a mention of the *Castellum Munfichet* in London, near Ludgate, perhaps a century later.

The bishop of Winchester announces the king's return.

" Nu fait-il, par ma fei ! le rei de Saint-Denis.[1]
" Il quide si cunquerre trestuz ses enemis.
" Ariver le verrez de ci qu'à quinze dis." [2]
Ore est Richart de Luci entrez en grant baudur,
Demande Robert de Vaus mar seit en esfrëur:
Il aurad [3] le succurs del bon rei sun seignur
Cume leal chevalier ki [4] ad tenu s'onur.
Quant cel oïd Robert [5] là sus en cele tur,
Il ne fud plus haitié unques mès à nul jor.
Li reis d'Escoce i vint dedenz meïsmes cel jor,
E demanda Carduil, la cité e la tur;
U il l'aurad à force, n'i aurad [6] nul retur.
E dit Robert de Vaus: "Pur Deu le criatur,
" Un terme me metez, si me nomez un jor,
" Si sucurs [7] ne me vient del rei mun seignur,
" Rendrai-vus le chastel, si serrez cumandur."
E dit li reis Willame: "Jo n'ai nule poür;
" U vus n'aurez, jo'n sài bien la verrur." [8]

The Scotch attack Prudhoe.

§Ore vait li reis Willame tut dreit vers Odinel,
Suzprendre le voldrad pur aver le chastel;
Mès le chastel fud bien guarni de novel:
Ore serrad asiegié là dedenz Odinel,[9]
C'o li mande li reis d'Escoce le cembel.
Odinel ot bone gent el chastel establi,
Ensi fait fermeté: unkes meillurs ne vi.
Il meïsmes senz cumpaignun par force s'en issi.

---

[1] *Ne fet, par ma fei! le rei de Sent-Deonis*, L.

[2] *A Lundres le verrez de ci que à quinze dis*, L.

[3] *Il averad*, L.

[4] *ki*, om. L.

[5] *Quant ço oï Robert*, L.

[6] *n'i averad*, L.

[7] *Si se succurs*, L.

[8] *Vus n'aurez nul succurs, jo sai ben la verur*, L.

[9] *Odenel*, L. here and elsewhere.

" Nor does he, by my faith! for the king of Saint
" Denis.
" He believes he will conquer all his enemies.
" You will see him arrive in London fifteen days
" hence."[1]
Now Richard de Luci greatly rejoiced;
He begs Robert de Vaus not to be afraid:
He will have the succour of the good king his lord
As a loyal knight who has kept his honour.
When Robert up there in the tower heard that,
He was never more rejoiced on any day.
The king of Scotland came there on that very day,
And demanded Carlisle, the city and the tower;
Or he will have it by force, there will be no
restoration.
And said Robert de Vaus: "For the sake of God
" the Creator,
" Set me a term, and name me a day:
" If assistance does not come from the king my
" lord,
" I will surrender to you the castle, you shall be
" commander."
And king William said: "I have no fear of it;
" You will not have any succour, I know very
" well."
Now king William goes straight towards Odinel,
He wished to surprise him and have the castle;
But the castle was well and newly provisioned:
Now Odinel will be besieged therein,
For the king of Scotland sends him a challenge.
Odinel had the castle garrisoned by good people,
So he makes a stronghold: never better did I see.
He himself left it without companions by compulsion.

---

[1] Following the Lincoln MS.

The garrison force their commander, Odinel de Umfraville, to go out to obtain succour.

Ne voleient ses genz qu'il fust[1] laienz huni,
Kar il saveient[2] mult bien li reis iert mult hardi,
Envers lur seignur ot[3] le cuer gros e marri;
E s'il puet le chastel prendre par ost bani,
Il n'avereit de Odinel[4] en sa curt jà merci.
Odinel de sa gent mult dolent departi, *fo.* 161.
E il remistrent[5] dedenz cum chevalier hardi.
§Grant fu l'ost d'Escoce, la noise e le hu
Des Flamens. De Marchis le chastel fud assaillu;
E cil se defendirent par force e par vertu,
Ke des naffrez[6] par defors tant furent abatu,
Jamès ne reverrunt parent qu'il unt ëu.
E Odinel s'en vait seir[7] Bauçan le kernu
Pur demander succurs que il fust succuru.
Itant erra-il Odinel[8] sur le bon brun Bauçant,
E jurz e de nuiz tut jorz espurunant,[9]
Kar il ad purchacié là[10] bone gent vaillant,
Quatre cent chevaliers od lur heaumes[11] luisant.
Ces serrunt en l'estur oue lui cumbatant,[12]
Il succurrunt Pruedhume od lur espiez[13] trenchant.
Treis jorz dura le siege, par le mien escïent:
Mult aveit Odinel là dedenz bone gent.
Encuntre les Flamens se defendent forment,
N'i perdirent dedenz, tant di que[14] jo n'i ment,
Itant cum amuntast à un denier d'argent;
Mès lur champs unt perdu ot trestut[15] lur forment,

---

[1] *Ne voleit ses genz qu'il fuissent*, L.

[2] *saveit*, L.

[3] *ot*, L.; not in D.

[4] *de Donel*, L.

[5] *Cels remistrent*, L.

[6] *K'ès navraez*, L.

[7] *Sur*, L.

[8] *Tant errad Odenel*, L.

[9] *E de jur e de nuz tuz espurunant*, L.

[10] *Ke il ad purchacez de là*, L.—a preferable reading.

[11] *od les halmes*, L.

[12] *Ces serrunt od lui en lur estur cumbatant*, L.

[13] *le prodome od lur espeez*, L.

[14] *dit que*, L.

[15] *e trestuit*, L.

His people did not wish that he should be there disgraced,
For they knew very well that the king was very bold,
And was angry and vexed with their lord;
1660 And if he could take the castle by his assembled host,
He would never have mercy on Odinel in his court.
Odinel departed from his people grieving much,
And they remained inside like bold knights.
Great was the host of Scotland, the noise and the cry
Of the Flemings. By the Borderers was the castle attacked;
And those inside defended themselves with energy and valour,
So that many of the wounded outside were slain,
Never will they see again their relations.
And Odinel goes off on maned Bauçan[1]
1670 To ask for assistance that he might be relieved.
Then Odinel travelled so far on good brown Bauçant,
Spurring continually day and night,
That he has thence collected good valiant people,
Four hundred knights with their shining helms.
These will be with him fighting in the battle,
They will succour Prudhoe with their sharp swords.[2]
Three days lasted the siege, according to my knowledge:
Many good people had Odinel therein.
Against the Flemings they defend themselves boldly,
1680 Nor did they lose inside, I declare I do not lie,
As much as might amount to a silver penny;
But their fields they have lost with all their corn,

---

[1] *Bauçant* (piebald), apparently a name here.

[2] Cf. *Bened.*, i. 65.

Lur gardins estrepez de cele male gent;
E ki n'i pot plus mesfaire, si li vint en talent
D'escorcer les pumiers; ço fud mal vengement.
§Quant li reis Willame vit qu'il n'i pot espleitier,
Ne prendra le chastel par traire ne par lancier,
Si parlad en cunseil à sun bon cunseillier:
" Alum vers Audnewic, laissum icest ester.
" Ne verrez de voz oilz cest premier meis passer,
" Odinel le tendra à sun grant desturbier.
" Jamès n'en partirum,[1] si l'aurum tut premier:
" Si laissum[2] noz Escoz la marrine guaster.
" Mar larrunt en estant ne[3] maisun ne mustier;
" Si larrum Gavelens[4] del autre part aler,
" En la terres[5] Odinel les humes tuer:
" Nus irrums à Audnewic le chastel asiegier,

Relinquishing the siege of Prudhoe, the Scotch advance against Alnwick.

" Si vendrunt noz dous ostz pur noz Franceis aidier; *fo.* 161. *b.*
" Mès il aurunt[6] anceis fait si grant desturbier,
" Destruit est cest païs. Ore pensum del haster."
§Ço fud Juesdi au seir ke li reis ad parlé,
E Franceis e Flamens unt le plait otrié.
Vendresdi par matin fud sun gredle suné:
Departi cel grant[7] ost e sun ruiste barné,
E vienent à Audnewic, n'i unt[8] plus demuré:

---

[1] *Jameis ne partirums*, L.
[2] *li lessums*, L.
[3] *ne*, om. L.
[4] *Galvens*. L.
[5] *terre*, L.
[6] *averunt*, L.
[7] *Departi de cele grant*, L.
[8] *n'unt*, L.

And their gardens were stripped by those bad people;
And he who could do no more damage took it into his head
To bark the apple-trees; it was a mean revenge.
When king William saw that he could not gain any advantage,
Neither could take the castle by arrow nor by lance,
He spoke in confidence to his good counsellor:
" Let us go towards Alnwick, let us give this up.
1690 " You will not see with your eyes this first month " pass,
" Before Odinel will hold it to his great discom-" fiture.
" We will never depart from it until we have " taken it:
" So let our Scots lay waste the seaboard.
" They will do wrong if they leave a house or " church standing;
" And we will let the men of Galloway go in the " other direction,
" To kill the men in Odinel's land:
" We will go to Alnwick to besiege the castle,
" Our two hosts will come to help our Frenchmen;
" But they will first have caused so great disaster,
1700 " That the country will be destroyed. Now let " us make haste."
It was on Thursday evening that the king spoke,
Both Frenchmen and Flemings have agreed to the project.
On Friday morning was his trumpet sounded:
This great host departed and his impetuous baronage,
And they come to Alnwick, they did not tarry longer:

Massacre at Warkworth.

Mès les Escoz unt ars e lu païs guasté.
Le mustier Saint-Laurenz[1] fud le jor violé,
Treis prestres el mustier par force escuillié,
E[2] treis cenz humes morz, senz mot de fauseté:
Jamès ne verrunt parent ne nul de lur[3] parenté.
E[4] Odinel de Umfranvile ad si bien espleitié,
Tel succurs ad cunquis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,
Dunt li reis d'Escoce serrad el cuer[5] iré;
Unques parent qu'il eust ne fust si avilé.
Li reis iert à Audnewic od sa grant ost banie;
E Odinel chevalche à la fiere[6] cumpaignie,
Willame d'Estutevile ki[7] très bien le aïe,
E Randulf de Glanvile[8] ne se relenti mie.

Advance of the Yorkshire barons. (July, 1174).

Dan Bernart de Baillou od s'espée[9] furbie
Il ferad durement sur la gent d'Aubanie,
E Willame de Vesci n'i ubbliez-vus mie.
L'arcevesques d'Everwic[10] lur livra l'establie,[11]
Seisante chevaliers de sa chevalerie.
Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine, quant la nuit est serie,
Est venu Odinel ki's cunduist e ki's guie:
Ço est la verité, quei que[12] nuls vus en die.
Là oïrent novele de cel rei d'Aubanie,[13]
Qu'il iert à Audnewic od meisnie escharie,
Od Flamens e od Franceis: li Escot n'ierent mie,

---

[1] *Seint-Lauerenz*, L.

[2] *E*, om. L.

[3] D. has *ne lul de nul*. The reading from L. is therefore inserted.

[4] *E*, om. L. This MS. also reads *Umfrenivile*.

[5] *al quor*, L.

[6] *E Odenel chivalche ot la fiere*, L.

[7] *ke*, L.

[8] *E Randulfe de Glamvile*, L.

[9] *Dean Bernard de Baillun od sa espée*, L.

[10] *de Everwic*, L.

[11] *d'establie*, L.

[12] *que que*, L.

[13] *d'Albani*, L.

But the Scotch have burned and devastated the country.
The church of Saint Lawrence[1] was that day desecrated,
Three priests in the church were by force castrated,
And three hundred men dead, without a word of untruth:
1710 Never will they see a relation or any of their kindred.
And Odinel de Umfravile has succeeded so well,
Has procured such assistance, so help me Lord God,
That the king of Scotland will be heartily wrathful;
He never had a relation who was so despised.
The king will go to Alnwick with the great host he has summoned;
And Odinel rides with the proud company,
William d'Estutevile[1] who helps him right well,
And Ranulph de Glanvile slackens not his pace.
1720 Lord Bernard de Baliol with his furbished sword
Will strike hard on the people of Albany,
And do not forget there William de Vesci.
The archbishop of York gave them as his contingent
Sixty knights of his chivalry.[2]
To Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at dead of night,
Came Odinel who leads and guides them:
That is the truth, whatever anyone may say about it.
There they heard news of the king of Albany,
That he will be going to Alnwick with a select following,
With Flemings and with Frenchmen: the Scots will not be there,

---

[1] At Warkworth, *Bened.*, i. 66, and *l.* 1903.

[2] Led by Ranulph de Thilli, *Bened.*, i. 65.

Ainz ardent lu païs, chascun d'els par atie.
S'il vus plëust à oïr bon fait de bone gent,
Jo l' vus dirrai de ces, par le[1] mien escïent.
Un cunseil en unt pris quel ferunt[2] e cument,
S'il irrunt assaillir icest rei e sa gent. *fo.* 162.
Ço respunt Odinel:[3] "Huniz seit ki l' defent!
" Jo i ferrai, si Deu plaist, trestut premierement:
" Il m'ad fait mult granz mals, si'n ai le cuer " dolent;
" E si Deus nus dunast de prendre vengement,
" Bien aurums espleitié,[4] par le mien escïent.
" Alum les asaillir; e, se il nus[5] atent,
" Il en iert descunfit, e sun ost ensement."
Dist Bernard de Baillo:[6] "Ki ore n'ad hardement
" Ne deit aveir honur ne rien qu'à[7] lui apent."
Dist Randulf de Glanvile: "Faimes-le sagement.

The barons send forward a spy, and then advance towards Alnwick.

" Enveiums un espie pur esmer la lur gent;
" E nus vendrum après, se Deu le nus cunsent.
" Quant les Escoz n'i sunt, nus ne's[8] dutum " neient."
Odinel fait mander tute sa mieldre gent:
Rogier le fiz Richart ad les suens ensement.
Ore unt pris les baruns chascun d'els hardement,
E vunt vers Audnewic la nuit serréement.

---

[1] *Icil vus dirrai de cez pa le*, L.

[2] *Un cunseil unt pris ke là ferunt*, L.

[3] *Odenel*, L. This variation will not be again noted.

[4] *Bien auriuns espleitée*, L.

[5] *e, s'il nus*, L.

[6] *Ballio*, L.

[7] *qui à*, L.

[8] *nus ne's ne's*, D.

1730 But they burn the country, everyone of them from spite.
If it please you to hear of a good deed done by good people,
I will tell you of this, of my own knowledge.
They held a council as to what they should do and how,
If they should go to attack this king and his people.
Thus replied Odinel: "Shame be to whoever "forbids it!
"I will strike there, if God please, first of all:
"He has done me very great harm, and my heart "grieves over it;
"And if God should allow us to take vengeance,
"We shall have done well, according to my "knowledge.
1740 "Let us go to attack them; and, if he is waiting "for us,
"He will be discomfited, and his host likewise."
Said Bernard de Baliol: "He who now has no "daring
"Ought to have neither a fief, nor its appur- "tenances."
Said Ranulph de Glanvile: "Let us act prudently.
"Let us send a spy to estimate [the number of] "their followers;
"And we will follow, if God suffers us.
"As the Scotch are not there, we do not fear "them at all."
Odinel has all his best followers summoned:
Roger the son of Richard has done the same by his.
1750 Now have all the barons taken courage,
And they go towards Alnwick by night in a compact body.

§E puis[1] le matin, quant le jor s'esclarzie,[2]
Li reis d'Escoce aveit sa teste bien guarnie
E cinc cenz chevaliers d'une cunestablie,
Ki tuit li vunt disant:[3] "Mar creez cuardie.
"Vostre est Northumberland, u qui'n plure u "qui'n rie."[4]
E dist li reis d'Escoce: "Nostre ost atendrum,
"E puis à grant vertu le chastel assaudrum.
"Pur le chaud, qui est grant, seignurs, kar nus "disnum."[5]

The Scotch king is completely off his guard.

E desarme sun chief, très bien le savum:
Nus faimes ceste estoire ki mentir[6] ne volum.
§Par devant le chastel fud li reis aresté;
Ses serjanz lui aportent dunt il se est disné.[7]
E les noz chevaliers en un bruil sunt entré;
Là si unt lur espie, ki tut[8] lur ad cunté.
Dit Randulf de Glanvile: "La merci Damne-Dé!
"Ore pernez voz armes, mar serrez esmaié."[9]
Dunc veïssiez chevaliers vistement cuntenir,
Munter en lur chevaus e lur armes saisir;[10]
N'i aura nul trestut[11] qu'il ne's voissent ferir: *fo.* 162. *b.*
Ço que l'un d'els volt, l'autre vint à plaisir.[12]
Li reis d'Escoce fud pruz, merveillus, e hardi,
Par devant Audnewic s'arestut desguarni.
Jo ne cunt mie fable cume cil qui ad[13] oï,

---

[1] *E puis*, om. L.
[2] *esclarcie*, L.
[3] *ke tuz li vnt dit*, L.
[4] *Norhumberland, que qu'en plure ne qui rie*, L.
[5] *didnum*, L.
[6] *estorie que mentir*, L.
[7] *s'est disné*, L.
[8] *ke tut*, L.
[9] *seez esmaé*, L.
[10] *saiser*, L.
[11] *N'i avera nul trestur*, L.
[12] *pleiser*, L.
[13] *k'ad*, L.

And then in the morning, at dawn of day,
The king of Scotland had his head well covered
And five hundred knights of one troop,
Who all keep saying to him: "Believe not cowards,
"Yours is Northumberland, whoever may weep
"or whoever may laugh about it."
And the king of Scotland said: "We will wait
"for our host,
"And then with great strength we will attack
"the castle.
"Because of the heat, which is great, lords, let us
"dine."
1760 And he takes off his helmet, very well we know it:
We who write this history wish not to lie.
The king had stopped before the castle;
His servants bring him that off which he has
dined.
And our knights went into a wood;
There they have their spies, who related everything
to them.
Said Ranulph de Glanvile: "Thanks be to the
"Lord God!
"Now take your arms, wrongly would you be
"dismayed."
Then you might see knights bestir themselves
quickly,
Mount their horses, and seize their arms;
1770 There will not be any of them who do not intend
to strike:
That which one of them wishes, is agreeable to the
other.
The king of Scotland was brave, haughty, and
bold,
Before Alnwick he stood unarmed:
I do not relate a fable as one who has heard it,

Mès cum celui qui i fud; e jo meïsmes le vi.
Quant ces unt jà crié l'enseigne de Vedsci,[1]
E "Glanvile, chevaliers!" e "Baillol!"[2] autresi,

The barons charge against the Scotch king and his party.

Odinel de Umfranvile relevad le suen cri,
E cil d'Estutevile, chevalier hardi.
Dunc sout li reis Guillame qu'il fud près traï;
Vistement[3] se cuntint, ne fud mie esbaï.
Li reis se fait armer tost e ignelement,
E muntad el cheval qui[4] n'esteit mie lent,
E vait en cel estur par mult grant hardement.
Le premier qu'il feri, à terre le[5] gravent.
Li esturs fud mult fort del rei e de sa gent.
Tut s'en fust bien alez, par le mien escïent,

King William's horse is killed and, falling on the king, prevents him from rising.

Si ne fust un serjant qui vers lui se destent;
De la lance qu'il tint, sun cheval li purfent.
Ne fait à demander se li reis fud dolent:
Le pechié des Escoz li fait[6] encumbrement.
Li reis chiet à la terre, e le cheval ferant.
Li reis e sun cheval à terre sunt andui,
Il ne pot relever, le cheval jut sur lui:
Ore ad asez travail e peines e ennui,
Quant garçon e escuier passent ultre lui;
Il orrad noveles,[7] men escïent, encui;
Ne purrad pru aidier sei-meïsmes ne autrui.
Grant fud la bataille e dure d'ambes parz;[8]
Asez purriez veeir[9] lancier e traire darz,
Cumbatre les hardiz e fuir les cuarz.
Des Flamens maleurez en fist l'um granz essarz,[10]
Lur buele[11] des cors traïner par ces praz.
Jamès en lur païs ne crierunt mès: "Araz!"

---

[1] *Vesci*, L.
[2] *Bailliol*, L.
[3] *Vistement*, D. and L.
[4] *que*, L.
[5] *la*, D.
[6] *le fet*, L.
[7] *Il oret nuveles*, L.
[8] *durae d'amparz*, L.
[9] *Assez puessez ver*, L.
[10] *grant assarz*, L.
[11] *buele*, D. and L.

But as one who was there ; I myself saw it.
When these had already shouted the war-cry of Vesci,
And "Glanvile, knights!" and "Baliol" besides,
Odinel de Humfranvile raised his own cry,
And that of d'Estutevile, the bold knight.
Then knew king William that he was nearly betrayed:
Quickly he collected himself, nor was he dismayed.
The king causes himself to be soon and promptly armed,
And he mounted his swift horse,
And goes into that fight with very great daring.
The first whom he struck, he knocks to the ground.
The fighting of the king and his people was very vigorous.
All might have gone well, to my knowledge,
If it had not been that a sergeant who dashes at him,
With the lance that he held, rips up his horse too.
Do not ask if the king was grieved:
The sins of the Scotch embarrass him.
The king falls to the ground, and his war-horse too.
He could not rise, the horse lay upon him;
Now he has enough trouble, difficulty, and anxiety,
When servants and esquires pass by him ;
He will hear news, to my knowledge, to-day ;
Nor will he be able to help himself or others much.
Great and severe was the fighting on both sides.
You could see plenty of missiles hurled and shot,
Brave men fighting and cowards fleeing.
Of the unfortunate Flemings great havoc was made,
Their bowels trailing from their bodies through these meadows.
Never again in their country will they cry, "Arras!"

§Li reis jut à la terre abatu, ço vus di;
Entre ses quisses giseit le cheval sur li; *fo.* 163.
Jamès n'en levera[1] pur parent ne pur ami.
Se li chevaus n'en est traiz, dunt il est mal
bailliz;[2]
Il en iert tuz jorz avilé e huni.

Capture of king William (July 13, 1174).

Il esteit sempres[3] pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,
A Randulf de Glanvile ù il puis se rendi;
E ses chevaliers sunt pris tut li plus[4] hardi.
N'i aveit nul amur: tuit furent enemi.
Noz chevaliers de çà, unques meillurs ne vi,
N'aiment puint les Flamens, ke's orent puis traï;[5]
Ainz les vunt ociant, ne sai que plus vus di.
§Li reis se rent prisun à Randulf; veirement
Il ne pot el faire, ke fëist-il[6] autrement?
E Randulf[7] fud haitiez, quant il veit e entent
Que la guerre lu rei finie[8] est veirement.
Engleterre est em pès; e cele bone gent
Ne duterunt mès Escot; ne lur forfrunt[9] neient.
Randulf de Glanvile ad le rei en baillie,
[E il se rendi à lui, e il bien l'otreie;
Ne fud issi haitiez à nul jur de sa vie.][10]
Il se fait desarmer, ne de rien ne se ubblie.[11]
En un palefrei munta icel rei d'Aubanie;
Si l'enmeinent suef, quei que nul vus die.[12]
Al Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine pernent herbergerie,
E li autre sunt remis par[13] lur chevalerie
E pernent chevaliers ceus devers Aubanie.

---

[1] *ne relevera*, L.

[2] *n'est traiz, dunt il est mal bailli*, L.

[3] *Il en ert sempres*, L.

[4] *certes tuz li plus*, L.

[5] *ki's orent près traï*, L.

[6] *que fait-il*, L.

[7] *E Randolf*, L.

[8] *finé*, L.

[9] *forferunt*, L.

[10] D. omits these two lines.

[11] *il le fest desarmer, de rien ne se ublie*, L.

[12] *vus endie*, L.

[13] *pur*, L.

The king lay prostrate on the ground, as I tell you.
Between his thighs lay the horse upon him;
Never will he rise up for relation or for friend.
If the horse is not dragged off him by which he is encumbered,
He will be humbled and disgraced all his life.
1810 He was immediately taken, with my two eyes I saw it,
By Ranulph de Glanvile, to whom he then surrendered;
And the boldest of his knights are taken.
There was no favour: all were enemies.
Our knights on this side, I never saw better,
Do not love the Flemings, who had then betrayed them;
But go on killing them, I know no more to tell you.
The king surrenders to Ranulph; indeed
He could but do so, how could he do otherwise?
And Ranulph was rejoiced, when he sees and hears
1820 That the king's war is really ended.
England is at peace, and those good people
Will never dread the Scotch; they will forfeit nothing to them.
Ranulph de Glanvile has the king in his custody,
And he surrendered to him, and indeed assents to it;
He was never so rejoiced on any day of his life.
He has himself disarmed, he forgets nothing.
On a palfrey this king of Albany mounted;
They lead him away gently, whatever any one may say to you.
At Newcastle-upon-Tyne they take lodging,
1830 And the others are disbanded for their chivalrous service,
And take the Scottish knights [away].

Ore est d'ambesdous parz bataille bien furnie.
§Certes, mult le funt bien noz chevaliers reiaus,[1]
E cil d'Aubanie furent mult bons vassaus;[2]
Mès quant il orent perdu le plus de lur aveus,[3]
Lur seignur naturel, qui ert amené de els,[4]
E il ne sunt mie tuz à lur rei leaus,[5]
E il sunt à la terre abatuz des chevaus;[6]
Enz[7] en mi la bataille serrunt pris comunaus.[8]
N'est merveille s'il unt doel e les lez e les baus.[9]

Escape of Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Port.

§Dan Rogier de Munbrai s'en est alé fuiant;
Il ad fait que curteis: que irreit-il atendant?
Tuit sunt ses enemis qui là[10] sunt cumbatant;
E s'il le poent prendre, n'en aura[11] jà guarant fo. 163 b.
Que li reis d'Engleterre n'en[12] fëist sun cumant.
E dan Adam de Porz,[13] un barun mult vaillant,
S'en est alé od lui. Ore vunt espurunant.
Bien lur est avenu: Deus lur est mult guarant,
Qu'il n'i[14] furent ateint de nul hume vivant.
Certes, si Adam de Porz ne fust[15] tant avant,
Il eust le jor perdu le petit e le grant;
Mès Deus ne l' cunsenti, ki est reis poant:
Trop fust grant le damage, kar il est mult vaillant.
Ore vus dirrai les quels furent bien cumbatant
Par devant Audnewic, le chastel dunt jo chant.
Dan Alein de Lanceles, tant cum fud en estant.
Se[16] defendi sur le destrier ferrant.
Il iert mult ancien, un chevalier mult grant,[17]
N'aveit ainz justé bien[18] trente anz passant;
Mès chevalier fud bon e de grant escïent.

---

[1] *reals*, L.
[2] *furent bon vassals*, L.
[3] *avals*, L.
[4] *Que est amené d'aus*, L.
[5] *leals*, L.
[6] *de lur chivals*, L.
[7] *Einz*, L.
[8] *cumunals*, L.
[9] *balz*, L.
[10] *que là*; L.
[11] *ne aurad*, L.
[12] *n'en* in both MSS.
[13] *Port*, L.
[14] *Que il ne*, L.
[15] *Port ne fud*, L.
[16] *Si se*, L.
[17] *un viel chivaler grant*, L.
[18] *bien justé einz*, L

Now is the battle quite ended on both sides.
Certainly our royal knights acted nobly,
And those of Albany were very good vassals;
But when they had lost what they cared for most,
Their natural lord, who was brought by them,
They are not all loyal to their king,
And they are struck to the ground from their horses;
Before they are in the midst of the battle they will be taken one and all.
It is no wonder if both the merry and the joyous are sad.
Lord Roger de Mowbray took to flight;
He has only acted uprightly: for what should he wait?
All who are fighting there are his enemies;
And if they can take him, there will be no guarantee
That the king of England may not do as he pleases with him.
And lord Adam de Port, a very valiant baron,
Went off with him. Now they go spurring away.
They have been fortunate: God has taken good care of them,
For they were overtaken by no living man.
Certainly, if Adam de Port had not gone so far,
He might that day have lost everything;
But God did not allow it, who is the mighty King:
Too great might have been the destruction, for he is very valiant.
Now I will tell you who fought well
Before Alnwick, the castle of which I sing.
Lord Alan de Lanceles,[1] so long as he was standing,
Defended himself on his charger:
He was very old, a very great knight,
He had not jousted before for thirty years past;
But was a good knight and of great wisdom.

---

[1] Alan Lacelys? Dugd. *Monast.* (ed. 1655) i. 1030, 23.

Capture of Scottish barons.

Si le rei l'eust sëu, sun plait fust avenant.
Dan Alain[1] si fud pris e retenu atant;
Ore durra raançon, kar sun aveir est grant.
Mult[2] le fist bien le jor Willame de Mortemer;
Il vait par mi ces rengs cum enragié senglier,[3]
Dune grant colée[4] e suvent prent sa per;
Il trovad cuntre lui un sëur chevalier,[5]
Dan Bernart de Baillo,[6] dunt vus m'oëz parler;
Il en ad abatu lui e sun destrier,
Si l' ad mis par fiance, cum l'um fait chevalier.
Bien le fait dan Bernart, ne fait pas à blasmer;[7]
Al partir de la bataille[8] le saurad l'um loer
Ki mielz i fiert d'espée[9] e mielz fait caplier.
Raül le Rus fist bien, mès ne puet lung durer:
Plus de cent l'asaillirent tut[10] pur lui encumbrer.
Se il dunc se rendi, ne fait à merveillier;
Mar vit icele guerre: il la cumpara[11] mult chier.
§Certes, Richart Maluvel se cuntint fierement,
Asez i duna granz cops, e il asez en prent,
Tant cum fud à cheval ne s'espoenta[12] nïent; *fo.* 164.
Mult aveit bon cheval, bon sunt li guarnement,[13]
E il hardiz e pruz, tant di que jo n'i ment.
Il fist à icel jor, par le mien escïent,[14]

---

[1] *Alein*, L.
[2] *Vult*, D.
[3] *regns cum un sengler*, L.
[4] *Dune grose colée*, L.
[5] *chualer*, L.
[6] *Baillol*, L.
[7] *à ublier* L.
[8] *Al departir del estur*, L.
[9] *Que mielz i fert de s'espée*, L.
[10] *tut*, om. L.
[11] *il acumpera*, L.
[12] *ne se poenta*, L.
[13] *si garnement*, L.
[14] *acient*, L.

If the king had known him, his request might have been granted,
Lord Alan was then taken and kept;
Now he will give a ransom, for his wealth is great.
William de Mortimer[1] acted very well on that day;
He goes into the midst of the ranks like an infuriated wild boar,
Gives great blows and often receives his share;
He found himself confronted by a bold knight,
Lord Bernard de Baliol, of whom you hear me speak;
He felled him and his charger to the ground,
1870 So he put him on parole, as they do with knights.
Lord Bernard does this well, he cannot be blamed;
At the end of the battle he will be praised
Who strikes best with his sword and fights the best.
Raoul le Rus did well, but he could not hold out long:
More than a hundred all attacked him to hamper him.
It is not to be wondered at if he then surrendered;
To his misfortune he saw this war: he will pay very dearly for it.
Certainly, Richard Maluvel[2] demeaned himself proudly,
He gave heavy blows enough, and took enough in return,
1880 So long as he was on horseback he feared nothing;
He had a very good horse, excellent is his armour,
And he is daring and brave, thus much I say without untruth.
He did on that day, to my knowledge,

---

[1] One of the hostages for king William under the treaty of Falaise.

[2] The name *Malluvel* occurs in the Northumberland Pipe Roll. See Hodgson's edit., 108.

Ki tredze cumpaignuns k'il[1] aveient en present;
Mès il pert l'auferant: dunt il[2] est mult dolent.
Il est feru par mi, si chiet hastivement:[3]
Ço est grant damage, kar mult en iert dolent.[4]
E desus dan Richart s'arestut[5] grant gent;
N'i ad celui ne die: "Rende-vus[6] hastivement."
Cil dunc se rendi[7] par mult grant marrement;
Mar vit le rei Willame e sun fol hardement.
Ne vus puis acunter, trop serreit lungement,
Tuz ceus qui furent pris e menez à turment;
Mès bien vus voil acunter près de cent,
Ke Willame de Vesci rainst tut à sun talent.
E Bernart de Baillol e l'autre bone gent,
Waltier de Bolebec, Odinel[8] ensement,
En orent des prisuns à lur departement.
§Seignurs, ne vus esmerveilliez se il sunt descunfiz:
Li Escot unt le jor plus de mil malbailliz,
E les fiz de lur peres la mort les ad partiz.
Ki veïst la dolur, les plurs e les criz
Ke funt enz el mustier[9] Saint-Lorenz ces chaitifs;
Les uns unt detrenchiz e les cors e les pis.[10]
Les prestres curunez n'i furent[11] guarantis:
Ne fait[12] à demander si Deus en est marris
E si il ad le rei Willame enhaïz;

---

[1] *Que tresce cumpaignuns que il*, L.
[2] *il*, om. L.
[3] *mi le chief hastivement*, L.
[4] *quar il ert mult dolent*, L.
[5] *s'arestunt*, L.
[6] *ne li die: "Rende-vus,"* L.; "*Rende-us,*" D.
[7] *E il dunc il se rendi*, L.
[8] *Holebec, Odenel*, L.
[9] *Ki funt el muster*, L.
[10] *e les cors pris*, L.
[11] *n'i furent n'i furent*, D.
[12] *N'i fet*, L.

As much as thirteen companions whom he had with him;
But he loses his charger: at which he is very grieved,
It is struck in the middle, it falls quickly:
That is a great loss, he will sorrow very much for it.
And over lord Richard there stood a number of people,
There was not one who did not say: "Give yourself up directly."
1890 He surrendered himself therefore, with very great reluctance;
Unlucky was he that he ever saw king William and his fool-hardiness.
I cannot tell you, for it would be too long,
Of all those who were taken and led miserably away.
But indeed I will tell you of nearly a hundred,
Whom William de Vesci ransomed quite according to his good pleasure.
Both Bernard de Baliol and the other good people,
Walter de Bolebec,[1] Odinel likewise,
Had some of the prisoners for their share.
Lords, do not wonder if they are discomfited:
1900 The Scots have this day more than a thousand badly hurt,
And death has separated sons from fathers.
Who ever saw such grief, tears, and cries
As these captives give vent to in the church of Saint Lawrence.[2]
Some have their bodies and breasts hacked open.
The tonsured priests were not safe there:
One need not ask if God is provoked at it,
And if He has greatly hated king William;

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[1] See Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., 177.

[2] See line 1707. This is at Warkworth.

Pur le pechié de lui sunt plusur malbailliz,
E il-meïsmes i fud icel[1] jor descumfiz.
§Par le mien escïent, ore oiez verité:
Li reis d'Engleterre fud dunkes[2] arivé,
E al matin à saint Thomas fud dunkes acordé[3]
Quant li reis des Escoz[4] fud pris e amené.
Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine fud la nuit ostelé,
E Randulf de Glanvile l'en ad d'iloc mené.
Ore vient à Richemunt, ù il iert sujorné
Tant que li reis Henris en frad sa[5] volenté.

King William is taken to Newcastle and thence to Richmond.

fo. 164. *b.*

[L]i[6] reis iert veirement al martir saint Thomas,
U il se rendi cupable, pechiere,[7] e las,
E prist sa penitence. Ne l' tenez pas à gas.
Il en prist le cungié: demurer n'i volt pas.
A Lundres volt aler, ù il out bon talent,
Pur veeir sa cité e sa bone gent.[8]
Pur la guerre d'Escoce en out le cuer dolent,
Il duterent[9] mult le rei, si'n ad grant marrement;
Mès il orrad tut el hastivement:
Trestuz ses enemiz unt pris dechaiement.[10]
§Quant les noveles à Lundres oïrent del rei,[11]
Chascun s'aparailla richement endreit sei;
Des riches dras de seie sunt vestu à desrei,
N'i ad nul n'i ait un amblant palefrei;
E issent de la vile od merveillus[12] cunrei.
Cil deit bien estre reis qui[13] tels genz ad suz sei.
Certes, dan Henri le Blunt fud trestut le premier

King Henry's penance at Canterbury (July 12-13, 1174).

---

[1] *icel*, D. and L.

[2] *dunces*, L.

[3] *E al matin seint Thomas fud cel jur acordé*, L.

[4] *d'Escoce*, L.

[5] *en fera sa*, L.

[6] The *L* is not in D.

[7] *culpable e pecchiere*, L.

[8] *Pur ver la cité e la bone gent*, L.

[9] *il dutent*, L.

[10] *dechacement*, L.

[11] *Quant les Lundreis oïrent la venue li rei*, L.

[12] *de vile un mervellus*, L.

[13] *que*, L.

On account of his sin many are ruined,
And he himself was on that day discomfited.
1910 Now hear the truth, as far as I know.
The king of England had then arrived,
And in the morning had been reconciled to Saint Thomas
When the king of Scots was taken and led away.
At Newcastle-on-Tyne he was lodged for the night,
And Ranulph de Glanvile has led him from that place.
Now he comes to Richmond, where he stayed
Until king Henry should do his pleasure.
The king really went to the martyr Saint Thomas,
Where he declared himself guilty, sinful, and wretched,
1920 And took his penance. Do not consider it as a mockery.
He took leave of him: he would not tarry there.
To London he wished to go, where he had desire
To see his city and his good people.
On account of the war with Scotland they have sorrow at heart,
They fear much for the king, that he has great vexation about it;
But he will hear all speedily;
All his enemies have taken flight.
When they heard the news of the king in London,
Every one dressed himself richly of his own accord;
1930 With rich silk stuffs they were indiscriminately dressed,
Nor is there anyone who has not an ambling palfrey;
And they go out of the town with a wonderful procession.
He must really be a king who has such subjects.
Certainly, lord Henry le Blunt was the first

Reception of king Henry by the men of London.

Ki alad[1] en avant pur sun seignur baisier.
Une luée[2] de terre pëussiez bien aler,
Del rei de ses baruns tant dura l'acoler;
E li reis d'Engleterre les prent[3] à mercier:
Leau gent[4] sunt mult, ço lur dit au premier;
E els le mercient cum seignur dreiturier.
"Sire," ço dist Gervaise Suplest,[5] "laissiez ester.
"Ne place Damne-Deu ki furmad terre e mer
"Ke nul pëust les Lundreis traïtres apeler!
"Ne freient[6] traïsun pur les menbres colper."
"Certes," ço dit li reis, "il se puent vanter;[7]
"E jo lur rendrai, s'il unt de mei mestier."
Issi cumveient le rei de si qu'à Westmustier.[8]
§Li Lundreis funt joie de la venue lur seignur,
Il li dunent presenz, si li funt grant honur;
Mès il esteit pensif e auques en errur
En[9] pur le rei d'Escoce ki ert mis en folur,
E Rogier de Munbrai, un noble guerrëur, *fo.* 165.
Ki destrueient[10] sa terre par nuit e par jor.
Mès anceis que venist dreit ure culchëur,[11]
Li vint tele novele dunt il out grant honur.
Li reis esteit entré en sa chambre demeine

---

[1] *Que alast*, L.

[2] *Une liue*, L.

[3] *le prent*, L.

[4] *Lele gent*, L.

[5] *Sire ceo dit Gerveise Suplest*, L. The word *Suplest*, which is in both MSS., is perhaps resolvable into *s'il vus plest.* M. Michel, however, has printed it as a name, and his example is here followed.

[6] *fereient*, L.

[7] *il se poent bien vanter*, L.

[8] *Il cunduit le rei de ci k'a Westmuster*, L.

[9] *En*, om. L.

[10] *Que destruent*, L.

[11] *ure de cuchëur*, L.

Who went forward to kiss his lord.
You might well have gone a league,
So long lasted the embracing of the king and his barons;
And the king of England begins to thank them:
Very loyal people they are, that he tells them first;
1940 And they thank him as their rightful lord.
"Sire," said Gervase Suplest, "let that be,
"May it please the Lord God who created land "and sea
"That no one may be able to call the Londoners "traitors.
"They would not commit treason were their limbs "to be cut off."
"Surely," so said the king, "they may boast,
"And I will recompense them if they have need "of me."
Thus they accompanied the king as far as Westminster.
The Londoners make rejoicings at the coming of their lord,
They give him presents, they pay him great respect;
1950 But he was pensive and somewhat distracted
On account of the king of Scotland who had acted madly,
And Roger de Mowbray, a noble warrior,
Who were laying waste his land by night and by day.
But before the right hour came for going to bed,
There came a piece of news from which he gained great honour.
The[1] king had entered his own chamber

---

[1] William of Newburgh, i. p. 189, gives this interesting story, though in a shorter form. It is hard to escape from the conclusion that he saw this poem, which was written, no doubt, a little after 1174, while Newburgh's own history was begun probably shortly before 1186. The joint errors of the two authors, pointed out in note [3] on p. 178 of vol. i., supply evidence on this point.

Henry is roused in the night by a messenger from Ranulph de Glanvile announcing the capture of William the Lion.

Quant le message vint; suffert ot mult grant peine:
Il n'ot bëu ne mangié treis jorz de la semeine,
Ne sumeillié del oil[1] pur la novele certeine;
Mès de jorz e de nuiz d'errer se peine:
Il ad fait mult que sage, il aurad bone estreine.
Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,
Un vadlet à ses piez ki suef[2] les grata;
N'i out noise ne cri, ne nuls n'i parla,
Harpe ne viele nul d'ure[3] n'i suna,
Quant li mès vint al us e suëf apela.
E dit li[4] chamberlens: "Ki estes-vus là?"
"Messagier sui, amis; ore[5] venez plus en çà.
" Dan Randulf de Glanvile desque ci m'enveia
" Pur parler oue le[6] rei, kar grant[7] mestier en a."
§E dit li chamberlens: "Par matin seit l'afaire."[8]
"Par ma fei!" dist li mès, "ainz i parlerai en eire.
" Mun seignur ad el cuer e dolur[9] e cuntraire:
" Si me laissiez entrer, chamberleng debonaire."
E dit li chamberlens: "Ne l' osereie[10] pas faire.
" Li reis est endormiz: ariere vus estut traire."
A ço qu'il[11] parolent s'est li reis esveilliez,
E oïd à cel us crier: "Ovrez! ovrez!"
" Ki est ço," dist li reis, "à dire me sachiez."

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[1] *des oilz*, L.
[2] *que suef*, L.
[3] *nuldur*, L.
[4] *E dit à*, L.
[5] *ore*, in both MSS.
[6] *od le*, L.
[7] *grant*, om. L.
[8] *seez là, frere*, L.
[9] *el le quor dolur*, L.
[10] *oserai*, L.
[11] *que il*, L.

When the messenger came; he had gone through much fatigue:
He had neither drunk nor eaten for three days of the week,
Nor slept a wink on account of the certain news,
1960 But by day and by night fatigues himself with journeying.
He has acted very wisely, he will have a good gift.
The king was leaning on his elbow and slept a little,
A servant at his feet was gently rubbing them;
There was neither noise nor cry, nor any who were speaking there,
Neither harp nor viols nor anything was sounding at that hour,
When the messenger came to the door and gently called.
And says the chamberlain: "Who are you there?"
"I am a messenger, friend; now come more this
" way.
" Lord Ranulph de Glanvile sent me here
1970 " In order to speak with the king, for great need
" he has of it."
And says the chamberlain: "Let the business be
" till the morning."
"By my faith!" said the messenger, "but I will
" speak to him forthwith.
" My lord has in his heart sorrow and vexation:
" So let me enter, good chamberlain."
And says the chamberlain: "I should not dare to
" do it.
" The king is asleep: you must withdraw."
Whilst they are speaking the king has awaked,
And he hears a crying at that door: "Open! open!"
"Who is that," said the king, "can you tell me?"

“ Sire,” dist li chamberlens, “ore endreit le saurez.[1]
“ Message est de çà nort,[2] très bien le cunuissiez,
“ Hume Randulf de Glanvile ; Brien est apelez.”
“Par ma fei !” dist li reis, “ore sui mult trespensez :
“ Il ad mestier d'aïe, çaenz venir le laissiez.”
Li messagier entrad, ki mult[3] fud enseigniez,
E salua le rei, cum jà oïr purrez :
“ Sire rei, Deu vus salt qui maint en Trinitez,
“ Vostre cors en avant, e puis tuz voz[4] privez!” *fo.* 165. *b.*
“Brien,” dist li reis, “queus[5] noveles aportez ?
“ Est li reis d'Escoce en Richemunt entrez ?
“ Le Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine saisi, les fermetez ?
“ Odinel de Umfranvile[6] est pris u dechaciez,
“ E[7] trestuz mes baruns de lur terres ostez ?
“ Messagier, par ta fei ! di-mei veritez.
“ Malement m'unt servi, s'ore ne seient vengiez.”
“Sire,” ço dist li mès, “un petit m'entendez.
“ Voz baruns de cest nort [sunt][8] bone gent asez.
“ De la part mun seignur bonement m'entendez.[9]
“ Il vus mande[10] par mei saluz e amistiez,
“ E ma dame mult plus, que vus bien cunuissiez.[11]
“ Il vus mande par mei mar vus remuez.
“ Li reis d'Escoce est pris e tut sis barnez.”[12]

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[1] *saverez*, L.
[2] *De cest north*, L.
[3] *ke mult*, L.
[4] *tuz le voz*, L.
[5] *queles*, L.
[6] *Odonel d'Unfrenvile*, L.
[7] *E*, om. L.
[8] *sunt*, om. D.
[9] *seignur de primes m'entendez*, L.
[10] *Il mande par moi*, L.
[11] In L. lines 1999 and 2000 are inserted after l. 2002.
[12] *barunez*, L.

1980 "Sire," said the chamberlain, "you shall know
"directly.
"It is a messenger from the north, very well you
"know him.
"A man of Ranulph de Glanvile's: his name is
"Brien."
"By my faith!" said the king, "now am I very
"uneasy:
"He is in need of aid, let him come in here."
The messenger, who was very well bred, entered,
And saluted the king, as you may shortly hear:
"Sire king, may God who dwells in Trinity save
"you,
"Your person first and then all your intimate
"friends!"
"Brien," said the king, "what news do you bring?
1990 "Has the king of Scotland entered Richmond?
"Has Newcastle-upon-Tyne been seized, and the
"fortifications?
"Odinel de Umfravile been taken or driven
"away,
"And all my barons ousted from their estates?
"Messenger, by thy faith! tell me the truth.
"Badly have they served me, so now may they be
"punished for it."
"Sire," so said the messenger, "hear me a little.
"Your barons of the north are right good people.
"On behalf of my lord kindly listen to me,
"He sends to you by me salutation and friendship,
2000 "And my lady much more, with whom you are
"well acquainted
"He sends you word by me, that you would do
"wrong to torment yourself.
"The king of Scotland is taken and all his barons."

E dit li reis Henris: “Dites-vus veritez?”
“ Oïl, sire, veir, par matin le saurez :[1]
“ L'arcevesques d'Everwic, uns sages hum lettrez,[2]
“ Vus enveiera dous[3] messages privez;
“ Mès jo mui premerein, ki soi les veritez.
“ N'en ai guaires dormi quatre jorz sunt passez,
“ Ne mangié ne bëu, si suis mult afamez;
“ Mès, la vostre merci, gueredun m'en rendez.”[4]
E respundi li reis: “Mar vus en duterez.[5]
“ Si vus veir m'avez dit, riches estes asez.[6]
“ Est li reis d'Escoce pris? dites-mei veritez.”
“ Oïl, sire, par fei![7] En croiz sei encroez,
“ U pendu à une hart, a arrs en un grant ré,[8]
“ Si demein, ainz miedi, ne seit tut averré!”
“Dunc,” dit li reis Henris, “Deus en eit mercié,[9]
“ E saint Thomas martyr[10] e tuz les sainz Dé!”
Atant est li message à sun ostel alé,
A mangier e[11] à beivre en ad à grant plenté;
E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié
Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si's ad tuz esveillié:
“ Baruns, esveilliez-vus. Bor vus fud anuitié.
“ Tele chose ai oïe[12] dunt jo vus frai haitié: *fo.* 166.
“ Pris est li reis d'Escoce, ço m'ad l'em dit pur verté.
“ Ore ainz me vint novele, quant dui[13] estre culchié.”

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[1] *Oïl, sire, certes par matin le saveréz*, L.
[2] L. omits this line.
[3] *enviera demein dous*, L.
[4] *me rendez*, L.
[5] *dutez*, L.
[6] *riche serrez assez*, L.
[7] *par ma fei*, L.
[8] *un hart, u ars en un grant rée*, L.
[9] *merci*, L.
[10] *le martir*, L.
[11] *e*, lost by a puncture from D.
[12] *oï*, L.
[13] *cele nuvele, quant jo dui*, L.

And says king Henry: "Do you speak the
"truth?"
"Yes, sire, truly, in the morning you will know
"it:
"The archbishop of York, a wise, learned man,
"Will send you two private messengers;
"But I started first, who know the truth.
"I have hardly slept during the last four days,
"Neither eaten nor drunk, so I am very hungry:
2010 "But, in your kindness, give me a reward for it."
And the king replied: "You would be wrong to
"doubt it.
"If you have told me the truth, you are rich
"enough.
"Is the king of Scotland taken? tell me the
"truth."
"Yes, sire, by my faith! On a cross may I be
"crucified,
"Or hanged by a rope, or burnt on a great pile,
"If to-morrow, before noon, all be not confirmed."
"Then," says king Henry, "God be thanked for
"it,
"And Saint Thomas the Martyr and all the saints
"of God!"
Thereupon the messenger went to his hostel,
2020 He has abundance to eat and to drink,
And the king is so merry and joyful that night
That he went to the knights and awoke them all:
"Barons, wake up. It has been a good night for
"you.
"Such a thing I have heard as will make you
"glad:
"The king of Scotland is taken, so it has been
"told me for truth.
"Just now the news came to me, when I ought
"to have been in bed."

Confirmation of the first report is received (? 18 July, 1174).

E dient ces chevaliers: "Ore merciez Damne-Dé;
Ore est la guerre finie, e en pès[1] vostre regné.
§Mult semblat ceste nuit al rei Henri mult bele.
Lendemain, ainz nune, li revint novele
Del arcevesque d'Everwic que l'um Rogier apele,
Ki salue sun seignur ki les leiaus chaele.[2]
Quant li reis vit les messages, unkes plus lié ne fu,
E veit qu'il dient un, si lur[3] ad respundu:
"Er seir oi la nuvele quant fui[4] mult irascu;
"Cele qui[5] la me porta, gueredun li ert rendu."
Il ad saisi un bastuncel, à Brien l'ad[6] tendu,
Dis livrées[7] de sa terre pur le travail qu'ot[8] ëu.
Ignelement prent ses messages, si's ad enveiez à Davi
Ki iert frere lu rei d'Escoce; unkes meillur ne vi.[9]
Il esteit en Leircestre cum vassal pruz e hardi;
Mès unc[10] ne fud si dolent, quant cest[11] message oï.

David of Scotland surrenders on hearing the news.

Li reis li mande d'Engleterre que le plai est ore si,[12]
N'i ad fors de rendre sei e de venir en sa merci.
Il ne saveit en tut le mund meillur cunseil Davi,[13]
Fors de rendre le chastel e puis venir al rei Henri.

---

[1] *e em pès est*, L.
[2] *que ses leals chadele*, L.
[3] *tuit un, atant si lur*, L.
[4] *oi-jo la nuvele quant jo fui*, L.
[5] *Celui que*, L.
[6] *e à Brien le ad*, L.
[7] *Dis liveres*, L.
[8] *qu'il ot*, L.; perhaps *quor*, D.
[9] *unques meillur guerreur ne vi*, L.
[10] *Meis unques*, L.
[11] *icest*, L.
[12] *plait est ore issi*, L.
[13] *cunseil icil Davi*, L.

And the knights say: "Now thank the Lord God;
"Now is the war ended, and your kingdom in "peace."
This night seemed very fine to king Henry.
2030 Next day,[1] before noon, the news again reached him
From the archbishop of York, whom they call Roger,
Who salutes his lord and who cares for the loyal.
When the king saw the messengers, never was he more delighted,
And perceives that they say the same thing, so he answered them:
"Last night I heard the news when I was very "irritable;
"To him who brought it to me a reward shall be "given."
He took a little stick, to Brien he gave it.
Ten librates of his land for the trouble which he has had.
Quickly he takes his messengers, and sent them off to David
2040 Who was brother to the king of Scotland; never a better did I see.
He was at Leicester like a brave and bold vassal,
But never was he so grieved, as when he heard this message.
The king of England sends him word, that the case is now such
That there is nothing to be done but to surrender and throw himself on his mercy.
David did not know in all the world a better course to take
Than to give up the castle and then come to king Henry.[2]

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[1] See l. 2008. This agrees with Benedict's date, 18 July.

[2] Newburgh, i. 195, says he retired to Scotland.

Seignurs, tut icest plait dedenz oit[1] jorz fud si basti:
Pès ad li reis d'Engleterre, pris sunt tuit si enemi.
Ore cumande le rei d'Escoce hastivement à sei mener,
Kar li vint une novele, passer li estuet[2] mer:
Roem[3] est asise, sa cité; ne voldra plus demurer.
Il en meine David od lui, si vait envers la mer;[4]
E Brien s'en est turné, ki n'ad cure de demurer;
E ad dit à sun seignur ignelement face amener
Le rei d'Escoce à Suhantune:[5] "Li reis volt qu'il "passe mer."
Henri le rei, le fiz Mahalt,[6] à bon ure fust-il né!
Il atent à Suhantune[7] vent e tens e bon oré;
E dan Randulf de Glanvile ad d'errer espleitié,[8]
Le rei d'Escoce en meine od lui, ki mult ad cuer iré.[9]
Randulf de Glanvile e li reis d'Aubanie *fo.* 166. *b.*
Se hastent pur ateindre[10] le rei e sa navie.
Li reis aveit bon ore, si[11] ne's atendi mie;
Quant vindrent à Hantune, si fud[12] en Normendie.
Jo vus dirrai la verité, quei que nuls vus en die.[13]
Li reis aveit cumandé sur menbre e sur vie

King Henry reaches Normandy (August 8, 1174).

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[1] *Seignurs, trestuit cest plait dedenz viij*, L.

[2] *esteit*, L.

[3] *Rom*, L.

[4] *Il enmeinent David od lui, atant si vait devers la mer*, L.

[5] *Suhamtune*, L.

[6] *Mahaut*, L.

[7] *Sudhamtune*, L.

[8] *Glamvile del errer est espleité*, L.

[9] *que mult ad le quor irré*, L.

[10] *attendre*, L.

[11] *si's ne's*, L.

[12] *Hamtune il fud*, L.

[13] *que nus vus endie*, L.

Lords, all this business was thus finished within eight days,
Peace had the king, all his enemies are taken.
Now he orders the king of Scotland to be brought to him speedily,
2050 For news came to him, that he must cross the sea:
His city of Rouen is besieged; he will no longer remain.
He takes David away with him, he goes towards the sea;
And Brien, who has no desire to stay, returned;
And he told his lord to have the king of Scotland
Brought directly to Southampton: "The king "wishes that he should cross the sea."
Henry the king, the son of Matilda, was born under a good star!
He waits at Southampton[1] for wind, weather, and a fair breeze;
And lord Ranulph de Glanvile has hurried his journey,
He brings with him the king of Scotland, who is very angry at heart.
2060 Ranulph de Glanvile and the king of Albany
Hasten to reach the king and his fleet.
The king had a fair wind, so he did not tarry for them;
When they arrived at Southampton, he was in Normandy.[2]
I will tell you the truth, whatever anyone may say about it.
The king had commanded on limb and on life

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[1] Portsmouth, Benedict says, i. 74.

[2] Benedict and Gervase are less circumstantial, and say that Henry took William with him.

King Henry reaches Rouen.

Randulf de Glanvile, ki l'aveit en baillie,[1]
Qu'il passast en haste, si ne tarjast mie.
Li reis est venuz à Roem, quant l'aube s'esclarzie.
Ainz que venist le vespre, fud la pès establie;
2070 E li reis vait en France od sa grant ost banie.
Si en est alé en France. La guerre est ore fenie.

Conclusion of the war.

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[1] The five remaining lines are not in L., but the catch-words supply *qu'il passast en.*

Ranulph de Glanvile, who had him in custody,
That he should cross over in haste, and should not delay.
The king reached Rouen at day-break.
Before the evening peace was established;[1]
2070 And the king goes into France with the large host he had summoned.
He has gone into France. The war is now ended.

---

[1] This disposes far too summarily of the events which led to the treaty of Sept. 30. Henry reached Rouen, Benedict says, on August 11, and the French fled on August 14.

RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS
DE
REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS
DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

PROLOGUS.

Dedicatory letter to Robert, prior of Witham, formerly prior of St. Swithun, Winchester.

Venerabili patri et semper domino Roberto, olim priori Wintoniensis ecclesiæ, suus Ricardus, dictus Divisiensis, si bonum est quod inchoavit, in eo perseverare.

Postquam bono omine de nostra Wintoniensi ecclesia Cartusiam profectus es, multum et sæpe desideravi subsequi sic profectum, tecum forte remansurus, certo autem visurus quid ageres, qualiter viveres, quanto cella Cartusiæ celsior sit et cœlo vicinior claustro Wintoniæ. Voluit Deus tandem voto meo satisfacere. Veni, et utinam solus venissem. Fui ibi, me tertio, fueruntque qui mecum venerant mihi causa recessus. Meum illis velle displicuit, fervoremque, non dicam errorem, frigere mihi fecerunt. Vidi apud vos quod alibi non videram, quod non credideram, quod minus mirari poteram quam deceret. In[1] qualibet cellarum vestrarum est unum ostium ex instituto, quod vobis aperire licet ad placitum, sed per illud exire non licet, nisi tantum ita ut unus pedum citra limen in cella semper remaneat. Egrediatur uno pede quo voluerit frater, altero remanente in cella. Magnum et profundum sacramentum debet[2] ostium habere quod pateat, per quod intrare vel exire non liceat. Miror et aliud; omnibus bonis temporalibus abundantes, tanquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes, omnibus misericordiores hominibus et humaniores, plenissimam ad vos invicem caritatem habentes, caritatis effectum[1] dimidiatis ad advenas, "benedicite" sine præbenda dantes hospitibus. Miror et tertium; viri viventes vobis extra seculum secreto ac singulariter, omnes res gestas in seculo[2] scitis ut fiunt, et quandoque præscitis antequam fiant. Nec id ad injuriam taciturnitatis vestræ, plusquam Pythagoricæ, me dixisse credideris, cum tantæ gravitatis viros, tam arduæ professionis, præsumere audeam prophetare potius deliramenta mundi quam fabulari.

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[1] In P., the Cambridge MS., the passage *In qualibet—omnia possidentes*, is written on an erasure, and the succeeding passage as far as *antequam fiant* overflows into the margin.

[2] *debere*, P.C.

Veruntamen, etsi omnia sciens Deus vobiscum sit, ut putatur,[3] et in vobis, et in Illo sciatis omnia, non ab homine neque per hominem, voluisti, ut aiebas, ut exercitium meum tibi fieret solatio, quatenus meta novæ morphoseos, quam mundus movit mutans quadrata rotundis, maxime post transmigrationem vestram ad cœlum cellatum, tibi chronica scriberem, ut mundus tibi, amplius præ oculis habita ejus mobilitate, vilesceret, et amati memoriam nota tibi litera repræsentaret. O me felicem! si sancta illa anima, si angelus Domini, si deificatus homo et jam de numero deorum factus, coram magno Deo mei vix hominis meminisse dignetur. Feci quod petieras, facito quod promisisti. Et ut libellus alicujus momenti habeat initium, a condicto paulisper altius inchoavi, operisque mihi limes est "Œdipodæ confusa domus," quam tamen, quia me posse evolvere totam sperare non audeo, posteriorem ejus partem aggredior. Cur, et quomodo, et quando, pater filium coronaverit; quanta et qualia inde pervenerint;[4] qui, et quotiens, et quot terras turbaverint; quo quique fine defecerint, reliqui majora parturientibus: solis meus sermo servit superstitibus.

Hor. Ep. i. 1. 100.

Stat., Theb. i. 17.

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[1] *effectum*, P.C.

[2] *in seculo*, not in C.

[3] *vobiscum—putatur*, on erasure in P.

[4] *provenerint*, C.

RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS
DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

Clemens papa.

A.D. 1189.

Coronation of king Richard I., Sept. 3.

Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo
octogesimo nono,[1] Ricardus ex Alienor filius
regis Henrici secundi, frater regis Henrici tertii,[2] consecratus
est in regem Anglorum a Baldewino archiepiscopo
Cantuariæ, apud Westmonasterium, tertio
α. nonas Septembris. Eodem coronationis die, circa
illam sollemnitatis horam qua Filius immolabatur
Patri, incœptum est in civitate Londoniæ immolare
Judæos patri suo diabolo;[3] tantaque fuit hujus celebris
mora mysterii, ut vix altera die compleri potuerit
holocaustum. Æmulatæ sunt aliæ civitates regionis
et urbes fidem[4] Londoniensium, et pari devotione suos
sanguisugas cum sanguine transmiserunt ad inferos.[5]
β. Aliquid, sed inæqualiter, ea tempestate contra perditos
patratum[6] est ubique per regnum, sola tantum suis
vermibus pepercit Wintonia, populus prudens et providus
ac civitas semper civiliter agens. Nihil unquam
egit præpropere, nihil plus metuens quam pœnitere,
rerum exitus æstimat ante principia. Noluit indigeriem
qua premebatur imparata, periculo sui, per partes
violenter evomere, cavitque visceribus, dissimulans
γ. interim modeste[7] molestiam, donec opportuno medendi

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[1] Both copies have the words *Clemens papa* in the margin opposite this point. The title of the treatise is not in either MS.

[2] So called because crowned in his father's lifetime. He died in 1183.

[3] See W. of Newburgh, i. p. 294, &c.

[4] *fides*, C.

[5] *inferos*, P. and C. clearly.

[6] *paratum*, C.

[7] P. has "vel *physicę*" interlined above *modeste*.

A.D. 1189.

tempore[1] totam liceat sibi morbi materiam[2] simul et semel egerere.

Non sine mussitatione multorum et admiratione visus est vespertilio die medio et sereno per monasterium volitare; easdem importune[3] auras et maxime circa solium regis circinans.[4] *at α.*

Willelmus de Longo Campo, qui et ante coronam comitis Pictavorum fuerat cancellarius, comite in regem coronato, quanto regnum potius est comitatu, tanto sensit[5] ministerium suum in melius profecisse. *at β.*

Portent on the coronation day.

Res accidit ipsa die coronationis in Westmonasterio; res, ut tunc vix ore dimidio dici licuit, nonnullius portenti prænuncia. Ad completorium, novissimam horam diei, primum signum in ipsa die pulsari contigit, nec aliquo ex conventu, nec ipsis ministris ecclesiæ, nisi post cæsum, id advertentibus;[6] cum primæ, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ,[7] vesperarum et duarum missarum sollemne servitium, sine omni signorum pulsatione fuerit celebratum. *at γ.*

Stephen de Marzai thrown into prison and put to ransom.

Stephanus de Marzai,[8] senescallus Andegaviæ sub rege nuper defuncto,[9] ille magnus et potens, singulariter ferus et dominus domini sui, captus et conjectus in vincula, Wintoniam usque pertrahitur, ubi spectaculum factus angelis et hominibus, miserabili maceratus inedia, ferri infractus pondere, ad triginta millia librarum monetæ Andegavensis solutionem et quindecim millia librarum promissionem, pro redemptione coactus est. A.D. 1189.

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[1] In P. a blank of quarter of a line in length follows *tempore*, words having been erased.

[2] A blank, caused by erasure of half a line, intervenes before *simul* in P.

[3] *importune*, P. and C.

[4] This is the first of the marginal paragraphs described in the Preface to the present volume. Opposite the first line of each one of these paragraphs in the present edition is an indication of the point in the body of the Cambridge MS. opposite which the first line begins. Thus "*at α*" refers to the corresponding Greek letter in the margin opposite line 6 on p. 383. So also with "*at β*," &c.

[5] *sumsit*, C.

[6] *avertentibus*, C.

[7] The passage from *Nonæ* to *celebratum* has been cut away by the binder of P.

[8] See also vol. ii. pp. 424–6 for a curious story as to this man. See also note 7 on p. 424 of the same volume. He appears as Stephen de Turonis in other chronicles and in the Pipe Rolls.

[9] *sub—defuncto*, interlined in P.

δ. Rannulfus de Glanvilla, regni Anglorum[1] rector et regis oculus, vir Stephano non inferior nisi moribus et divitiis, depotestatus et custodiæ traditus, ire saltem sibi liberum et redire redemit quindecim millibus librarum[2] argenti. Et cum hoc nomen Glanvilla tanti fuisset die præterito, nomen scilicet super omne nomen,[3] ut quisque, cui concessum fuisset[4] a Domino, loqueretur inter principes et adoraretur a populo, proximo mane non superfuit unus in terra qui vocaretur hoc nomine.

Similar treatment of Ranulph de Glanville.

Phil. 2, 9.

at δ. Nocuit duobus istis, scilicet Stephano et Radulfo,[5] quod et nocuisse certum est mille prioribus, quod etiam aliis nocere poterit in posterum, suspecta scilicet de prioris domini familiaritate præsumptio.

at ε. Johannes frater regis, qui solus ex filiis matris suæ reginæ Alienor fratri supererat, præter comitatum de Moretonio, quem dono patris pridem perceperat, in tantum a fratre ditatus est et dilatatus in Anglia, quod et privatim et publice prædicabatur a pluribus regem de reditu in regnum non cogitare, quem frater, jam eo non impotentior, si innatos sibi mores non reprimat, audebit, actus dominandi libidine, repulsum exturbare de regno.[6]

Richard lavishes gifts on his brother John.

ε. Regem Ricardum agendæ suæ peregrinationis tempus urgebat, cum nollet novissimus in profectione fieri, qui in susceptione crucis omnium Cisalpinorum principum primus exstiterat. Rex regis nomine dignus, qui primo regni sui anno regnum Angliæ pro Christo non secus fere reliquit quam si non rediturus abiret.

Richard's preparations for the Crusade.

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[1] *Anglorum*, interlined in P.

[2] *mille libris*, MSS.

[3] *nomen scilicet — nomen*, interlined in P.

[4] *esset*, C.

[5] *scilicet—Radulfo*, interlined in P.

[6] These gifts are detailed by Newburgh, vol. i., p. 301, and by Benedict of Peterborough ii. 78, 99.

A.D. 1189.

The pope gives him power to keep back whomsoever he may choose from the crusade. Hugh bishop of Durham is so detained in England. He buys the earldom of Northumberland. Geoffrey Fitz Peter and others are reserved by Richard for the care of the Exchequer. The sheriffs are subjected to exactions.

Tanta fuit viri devotio, tam subito, tam cito et celeriter ad ulciscendas Christi cucurrit, immo volavit, injurias. Regni tamen consilio aliquantulum, dum res major in mente patiebatur, indulgens, accepta a summo pontifice potestate, ut cuicunque vellet de suis crucem detraheret, suæ reipublicæ ratione regendæ, Hugonem de Pusat, episcopum Dunelmi, in primis toti regno præfecit justitiarcham et serio, ut putabatur a pluribus; novum insuper de veterano episcopo creans comitem[1] Norhhumbriæ,[2] exposita sibi quot voluit castrorum custodia, decem millia librarum[3] argenti de scriniis ejus diligenter extraxit.

Gaufrido filio Petri et Willelmo Briwere et Hugone Bardulfi, detracta sibi cruce, domi sedere permissis, regis ærarius totas trium collectas—tres illas nuces—transfudit in fiscum. ϛ.

Omnes vicecomites regni, levi accusatione regis merentes offensam, malefica potestate privati, vix, inæstimabili mediante pecunia, faciem ejus videre permissi sunt. at ϛ.

Rannulfus de Glanvilla, quo nullus fuerat suo tempore disertior dum præpotuit, privatus jam factus ex principe, in tantum hebuit præ dolore, ut gener ejus Radulfus de Ardenna[4] ejusdem oris ratione deperderet quicquid oris ejus judicio fuerat consecutus. Is etiam, quia vetulus erat impatiensque laboris, si illud aliquid, quod fini facto supererat, regi dare voluisset in benedictionem, remitti sibi difficultatem peregrinationis facile meruisset.

The Scotch king and the Welsh are made to give pledges for peaceable conduct.

De regulis Wallensium et Scottorum rex cautionem recepit quod, dum peregrinaretur, ad læsionem Angliæ terminos suos non excederent.[5]

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[1] W. of Newburgh, vol. i., p. 305, gives the king's words: "De vetusto episcopo novitium comitem "mirus ego artifex feci."

[2] *Norhumbriæ*, C.; *Norhhumbriæ* in margin of P.

[3] *libras*, P. C.

[4] Name on erasure in P.

[5] *De regulis—excederent* is in the text of P., but in the margin of C. opposite the last line of the preceding paragraph.

A.D. 1189.

Council of Pipewell: the sees of Winchester, London, Salisbury, and Ely are filled, Sept. 15 and 16.

Godefridus filius memorandi Ricardi illius de Luci, Ricardus thesaurarius, Hubertus Walteri, Willelmus de Longo Campo, quatuor viri non minimæ virtutis aut laudis ultimæ, ad quatuor vacantes sedes, scilicet, Wintoniensem, Londoniensem, Saresbiriensem, Eliensem, electi sunt apud Pippewelle;[1] singuli satis canonice, et maxime Wintoniensis, qui primus, hoc est xvij. kalendas Octobris, nomen initiatorium dignitatis obtinuit, cum trium electio dilata fuerit in crastinum, consentiente rege, et confirmante archiepiscopo quod factum fuerat, quamvis in primis aliquid aliter maluisset. Circa quod mirum accidit, ut is ipsa die fato fungeretur qui, agente archiepiscopo, ad unam sedium fuerat nominatus.

William Longchamp buys the chancellorship.

Willelmus Eliensis electus, datis tribus millibus librarum argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium superobtulerit.

Wintoniensis et Saresbiriensis electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino archiepiscopo,[2] apud Westmonasterium, xi. kalendas Novembris. Ipso die Hugo [de Nonante],[3] episcopus Coventrensis, querelam deposuit, coram archipræsule et episcopis ad ordinationem electorum convocatis, super monachis suis de Covintre, quod manus in eum violentas injecerant, et sanguinem suum fuderant coram altari.[4] Maximam etiam partem congregationis ante querelam expulerat de ecclesia, nec ab improbitate quievit donec omnium episcoporum apices ad summum pontificem in attestationes contra monachos impetravit.

Hugh bishop of Lichfield lays a complaint against the monks of Coventry before the bishops.

Geoffrey of Winchester's financial arrangements with the king.

Godefridus, Wintoniensis episcopus, suæ memor professionis, sublatas ecclesiæ suæ possessiones revocare contendens, cum in duobus maneriis suis,[5] scilicet, Meones et Weregrava, contra Wintoniensem ecclesiam nemo jus reclamationis haberet, recepit ea[6] ordine

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[1] Cf. W. of Newburgh, vol. i., p. 300.

[2] C. adds *Cantuariæ*.

[3] The name is written in light ink, by a much later hand, filling a blank space in P.; a blank in C.

[4] As to this quarrel see W. of Newburgh, vol. i. 394, 5; Gervase, i. 550; Hoveden, iii. 168; Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 69.

[5] *suis* in C., not in P.

[6] *eam*, C.

A.D. 1189.

judiciario, datis regi secretius tribus millibus librarum argenti. Nec oblitus est vir circumspectus pro thesauri ecclesiæ indemnitate, pro patrimonio suo, pro comitatu Hamtesiræ, pro custodia castrorum Wintoniæ et Porecestriæ, una manu cum rege finem facere. Et quia reddendæ tantæ pecuniæ tempus instabat, cum diem fixum solutioni sine totius actionis detrimento transgredi non valeret, et vicinius sub cœlo subsidium non invenisset,[1] in thesaurum ecclesiæ suæ manum misit invitus; ad quod etiam restituendum se et posteros suos obligavit, cavens conventui cyrographi sigillati testimonio. Homo tantæ benignitatis et modestiæ, qui nec iratus unquam aliquid in subditos egerit, quod non redoleret mansuetudinem. Vere de familia illius et unus ex familiaribus, de quo dicitur, "sub quo vivere "regnare est."[2]

His conduct to his subordinates.

Omnes, quibus pecunia sua fuit oneri, rex officiosissime exoneravit, traditis cuilibet ad placitum potestatibus et possessionibus quas eligebant;[3] unde et quandoque sibi familiarius assistentibus alludens, in hoc prorupit eludium, "Si invenissem emptorem Londoniam vendidissem."[4] Poterant hoc verbo, nisi tardius evolasset, plurimi præmuniri, ne juxta proverbium Anglicum, "sic sapiens disceret mercator fieri, "emere pro duodecim, et pro uno et semis vendere."

The king's rapacity.

[A.D. 1190.]

Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^oXC^o, rex transfretavit in Neustriam, totius regni cura cancellario delegata.

The king crosses to Normandy [about Dec. 11, 1189].

Ricardus Londonensis et Willelmus Eliensis electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino archiepiscopo apud Westmonasterium, ij^o kalendas Januarii.

Consecration of bishops, 31 December (1189).

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[1] The passage *cum diem—invenisset* in P. is on an erasure.

[2] It is almost needless to remark that the author's censures are often couched in the form of ironical praise. The bishop, however, was true to his word: see p. 430.

[3] *eligebat*, C.

[4] W. of Newburgh gives this saying in very similar words, i. p. 306.

A.D. 1190.

Death of William earl of Albemarle.

at η. Willelmus de Magna Villa[1] comes de Alba Mara, apud Gisortium, in hemitritæo majore maniam passus, defunctus est. Cujus relictam, feminam fere virum, cui nihil virile defuit præter virilia, Willelmus de Fortibus, miles millies probatus in armis, cum omni honore prioris mariti, dono regis Ricardi recepit in conjugem.

William Longchamp sets aside his colleague, Hugh de Puiset, and begins to tyrannise over England.

η. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis cancellarius, alter naturaliter Jacob, licet non luctasset cum angelo, persona spectabilis, corporis brevitatem animo recompensans, de domini sui securus amore et de voluntate præsumens, quia omnis potestas impatiens consortis fuit, est, et erit, Hugonem de Pusat de scaccario propulit, et solo sibi gladio, quo manu regis in militem fuerat accinctus, vix relicto, modico tempore habito comitatus honore privavit. Et ne solus suam Dunelmensis doleret injuriam, cum nulli parceret, omni jam bellua tetrior, etiam in Wintoniensem pestis impegit. Subtrahitur illi custodia castrorum et comitatus, nec etiam de proprio permittitur gaudere patrimonio. Turbatur regnum, regemque de inconstantia criminantur offensi. Transfretatur ab omnibus ad regem interpellandum contra tyrannum, sed primus ille omnium mare transvectus totius actionis suæ et exactionis seriem coram rege brevibus commentatus est; a quo et de omnibus agendis instructus plenissime, adversa æmulorum pro voto vota præpediens, prius erat in reditu quam qui illum impetebant copiam regis habuissent. Regreditur igitur ad Anglos non minus potenter et prospere quam qui omnia quæcunque voluit fecit. θ.

Appeals made against him.

Regem reversum a Vasconia, ubi latrunculos armis dejecerat, sublatis sibi quas occupaverant munitionibus, convenerunt quos cancellarius læserat, qui singulis, ut cuique tunc videbatur, satisfaciens, cum

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[1] *Willa*, C.

A.D. 1190.

qualibus tunc[1] volebant literis remisit omnes ad cancellarium.

John, bishop of Norwich, being robbed on his way to the East, returns to his see.

at θ.

Johannes Norwicensis episcopus, et ipse unus ex Salahadino minantibus, ad profectionem et causam munitus plenissime, dum iter ageret in Burgundiæ finibus, incidit in latrones, qui et omne ei viaticum sustulerunt; qui, cui nihil supererat facultatis unde procederet, vertit viam versus summum pontificem, cumque ei sua insinuatione casum esset illacrimatus et inopiam, clementia eum summæ Sedis absolutum a voto remisit ad propria.

Wintoniensis episcopus gravi tactus incommodo trans mare substitit aliquandiu.

Hugh, bishop of Durham, attempts to recover his position as joint administrator of the kingdom.

Dunelmensis festinus pertendit Londoniam, sed a baronibus scaccarii non receptus, festinus præcipitat iter, quasi triumphaturus, post cancellarium, qui tunc temporis in expeditionem profectus erat versus Lincolniam. Quem consecutus salutavit ex parte regis, non simpliciter nec sine ruga, convenitque eum protinus[2] cum supercilio de negotiis reipublicæ; ac si sine nutu suo quicquid fieri non liceret. "Projecit ampullas et "sesquipedalia verba," et dum nimis gloriatus est in nondum potestate recepta, quicquid tacuisse debuerat, nescius cum quo loquebatur, effudit. In fine verborum clava profertur verba determinans, sacra regis reverenda nimis recitanda monstratur. "Parturiunt mon- "tes; nascetur[3] ridiculus mus." Jussum est ad regis mandatum summum fieri silentium: "Conticuere "omnes intentique ora tenebant." Epistola legitur in publico, quæ plus metuenda foret si nondum lecta fuisset;[4] ad audita callidus ille, dolum dissimulare peritus, distulit in diem septimum respondere, locum colloquii statuens apud Tikehulle.[5] Die nominato

Hor. Ars Poet., 97.

Hor. A. P., 139.

Virg. Æn. ii. 1.

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[1] *tunc*, in C., not in P.

[2] *protinus*, P.; *mox*, C.

[3] *nascetur*, P. C.

[4] The passage *Jussum est* — *fuisset* is in the margin of P., but is marked to this place.

[5] *Tikehulle*, in margin of P.; *Tikehelle*, C.

A.D. 1190.

Hugh de Puiset is made to surrender his castles.

Dunelmensis venit ad castrum, suisque jussis pro[1] foribus præstolari, satis solus ingreditur ad cancellarium. Qui prius tacuerat prior loquitur, cogitque deceptum posterius impetratas prioribus contra quicquid speraverat literas proprio ore recitare. Respondere paranti subjecit, "Pridie, te loquente, fuit mihi "tempus tacendi, nunc ut sentias quia,[2] te tacente, "loquendi tempus accepi—vivit dominus meus rex!—"non egredieris hinc donec de reddendis mihi castris "omnibus, quæ tenes, dederis obsides, quoniam ego "te capio non præsul præsulem,[3] sed cancellarius "castellanum."[4] Non fuit circumvento constantia, resistendi nec facultas: traduntur obsides, et, dato termino, castra redduntur ad obsidum solutionem.

at ι. Willelmus Wigorniæ episcopus, qui Baldewino proximus successerat, viam universæ carnis ingressus est.

Siege of Gloucester.

ι. Dominus Wintoniensis, demum convalescens in Neustria, volens et ipse sibi sublata recipere, omni qua potuit celeritate regressus, invenit cancellarium obsidentem castrum Gloecestriæ. Cujus adventu cognito, cancellarius progreditur obvius venienti, complexoque arctius et deosculato, ait, "Optato advenisti, "carissime! obsidioni instandum est, an desistendum?" Cui episcopus, "Si pacem desideras, arma repone." Intellexit acer ille ingenio vim verborum, jussitque præcones clamare receptui; episcopo etiam patrimonium suum, illud tantum, sine lite restituit. Reliqui omnes, qui contra cancellarium transfretaverant, minus profecerunt quam nihilum.

William Longchamp be comes papal legate.

Willelmus, mirabilis Eliensis episcopus,[5] cancellarius regis, regni justiciarius, trinominis[6] ille et triceps, ut *κ.* utraque manu uteretur pro dextra, et gladius Petri gladio subveniret imperatoris, legationem suscepit

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[1] *pro*, P. C.

[2] *quia* for *quod*, as in the Vulgate.

[3] *Non præsul præsulem*, on erasure, P. The passage as far as *circumvenio* is partly on an erasure and overflows into the margin.

[4] *castellanum*, P.; *cancellarium*, C.

[5] *episcopi*, C.

[6] *trinomius*, MSS.

A.D. 1190. totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, et Hiberniæ; obtentam a summo pontifice, regis non aliter profecturi instantia, per Reginaldum episcopum Batoniæ. Universa ergo qua voluit sorte beatus, ibat per regnum, et revertebatur in similitudinem fulguris coruscantis.

Council at Westminster: ejection of the monks of Coventry.

Willelmus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, concilium tenuit apud Westmonasterium, in quo, ne nil ageretur quod de se prædicaretur in posterum, omnem religionem de Coventrensi ecclesia eliminandam et clericos præbendarios loco monachorum præjudicavit substituendos.[1] *at κ.*

Quarrel between the bishop of Salisbury and the abbot of Malmesbury revived.

Rex Erebi, vetustissimus ille Pyracmon, inter ecclesiam Saresbiriensem et monasterium Malmesbiriæ, admoto recenti fomite, scintillam veterem redivivos commovit in ignes. Suscitatur abbas non jam de professione pontifici facienda, sed de ipso nomine pastoris ponendo simul et baculo. Impetratæ sunt literæ regis ad cancellarium, quibus abbas ad postulationes episcopi respondere cogeretur in jure. Nec sui oblitus est homo cujus res agitur, quem nullum unquam improvisum potuit invenire periculum, qui nihil novit perdere propter ignaviam. Clavum clavo repulit, literis alias infirmantibus a rege donatus. Cancellarius, pudenda mandatorum principis contrarietate perspecta,[2] ne fama regis facto læderetur si in causa procederet, integram utriusque partis in regis reditum distulit actionem. *at λ,*

Richard had caused his brothers to swear not to enter England for three years.

An exception is made in John's favour.

Rex Ricardus sacramentum exegit a duobus fratribus suis, Johanne uterino et Gaufrido non ex legitima, quod Angliam non intrarent infra triennium[3] peregrinationis suæ, a die profectionis ab[4] Turonis triennio computato; ita tamen dispensans matris precibus circa Johannem ut in Angliam per cancellarium transiens staret ejus judicio, et ad placitum illius vel moraretur in regno vel exularet. *λ.*

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[1] This paragraph should of course follow that in which the bestowal of the legateship is mentioned.

[2] Cf. Newburgh, i. 337, as to Richard's letters. See also the Introduction to the *Rot. Cur. Regis*, p. lxii.

[3] *triennio*, P.

[4] *ab*, P. C.

A.D. 1190.

Queen Eleanor's dowry.

Dotarium reginæ Alienor per totas terras regis recognitum est jurejurando et sibi traditum, ut quæ prius de fisco vixerat deinceps viveret de proprio.

The king's fleet proceeds to Marseilles.

Classis regis de propriis mota littoribus Hispaniam circuit, et de oceano per arcta Africæ Mediterraneum mare, quod ulterius Græcum dicitur, ingressa, ad Massiliam, regem ibi præstolatura, perducitur.

The allied sovereigns start.

Rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, habito concilio apud Turonis et rursus apud Viceliacum, confirmato inter sese et regna sua fœdere, omnibus hinc inde rebus dispositis ad libitum et ordinatis, diversis exercitibus ab invicem digrediuntur; Francus mare nauseans per terram tendit Siciliam, Anglus iturus per aquam venit contra naves suas Massiliam.

Archbishop Baldwin and Hubert bishop of Salisbury reach Palestine before the king.

at μ. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ et Hubertus Walteri episcopus Saresbiriæ,[1] soli ex mitratis totius[2] Angliæ voti compotes, regem sequuntur in Siciliam et præveniunt in terram Juda.

Failure of an attempt to supplant Jocelin, prior of Montacute

at ν. Monachi Cluniacenses non consueverunt de prioratibus et magistratibus suis prece vel pretio se invicem supplantare, et tamen aliquis eorum aliquando aliquid attentavit ejusmodi, quod et digna vidimus animadversione punitum. Erat quidam vir venerabilis prior Montis Acuti totus ex virtutibus factus, Jocelinus nomine, in quo nihil nisi commendabile cerneres. Ad hunc talem supplantandum venit quidam,[3] cujus non opus est dicere nomen, unus ex suis falsis fratribus, cum literis abbatis Cluniacensis qua poterat arte quæsitis, quibus jubebatur ut prior præsentium latori cederet, et congregatio eum susciperet in prælatum. Prænovit prior per aliquem quid mercis negotiator quærere venerat, unde, non exspectato mandato, sedem vacuavit in capitulo, præsente conventu, et ait illi, "Amice, ad quod venisti?" Diu ille moratus, ut quod rapere venerat recipere videretur invitus; de-

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[1] *Sarum*, C.

[2] *totius*, in C., not in P.

[3] *quidam*, C.; om. P.

A.D. 1190.

mum se recepit in sedem, et continuo sibi imprecatus est, dicens, "O, Qui perpetua mundum ratione guber-" nas, Cujus in humanis ludit potentia rebus, Qui "deponis potentes et exaltas humiles, juste judex "Jesu Christe, si injuste isthic præsideo cito et mani-" feste digneris ostendere." Videte miraculum. Ipsa die loquelam perdidit, altera vitam, tertia terræ traditus experimento didicit, et exemplo docuit, quod "non habet eventus sordida præda bonos." Ovid. Amor., i. 10. 48.

A monk of Glastonbury attempts to get promotion by bribery.

Monachus quidam de Glastonia[1] multis muneribus *at ξ.* Johannem comitem spe promotionis coluerat;[2] sed dum venire debebat ad capere, tigno quodam casu subito[3] sibi in faciem lapso, detritus et omnino factus inutilis,[4] ova simul et obolum perdidit.

Details as to Richard's fleet.

Naves, quas rex in litore jam præsto invenit, erant numero centum, et buceæ quatuordecim, vasa magnæ capacitatis et miræ agilitatis, vasa fortia et integerrima, quorum ornatus et ordinatus hic erat: prima navium tria gubernacula vacantia habuit, tredecim ancoras, triginta remos, duo vela, funes omnium generum triplices; *μ.* et præter ista, quibuscunque navis egere potest, dupla, præter malum et scapham. Ascribitur navis regimini rector unus doctissimus, et quatuordecim ei vernulæ electi in ministerium supputantur. Oneratur navis quadraginta equis de pretio exercitatis ad arma, et omni armorum genere totidem equitum, et quadraginta peditum, et quindecim navigantium, et victualibus per annum integrum tot hominum et equorum. Una erat omnium navium dispositio; singulæ *ν.* vero bucearum ordinatus et oneris duplum receperunt. Thesaurus regis, qui erat magnus nimis et inæstimabilis, divisus est per naves et buceas, ut si pars una sentiret periculum, reliqua salvaretur. Quibus ita dispositis, rex ipse cum familia propria[5] et majores exercitus cum sibi famulantibus, relicto litore, præcedunt

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[1] *de Glastonia,* P; *Glastoniensis,* C.

[2] *coluerat,* P.; *coluit,* C.

[3] *subito,* C., not in P.

[4] *inutilis,* P. and C.

[5] *propriâ,* P. and C.

A.D. 1190.

Richard starts from Marseilles and reaches Messina.

classem in galeis, et per civitates maritimas dietim hospitantes, assumptis secum majoribus maris illius navibus ac buceis, prospere Messanam applicuerunt. Tanta erat applicantium gloria, talis fragor et fulgor armorum, tantus tubarum strepitus et lituorum, quod intremuit civitas et expavit, venitque contra regem omnis ætas, populus sine numero, mirantes et prædicantes quanto rex iste gloriosius et terribilius applicuerat rege Franciæ, qui eum cum copiis suis prævenerat die septimo. Metatusque est rex Angliæ castra extra civitatem, quoniam rex Franciæ receptus jam fuerat in palatium Tancredi regis Siciliæ intra muros. Ipso die rex Franciæ, cognito sodalis sui et fratris adventu, volat in ejus occursum, nec potuit inter amplexus et oscula gesticulatio satis exprimere quantum eorum uterque gauderet ex altero. Reficiuntur exercitus mutuis applausibus et colloquiis, non aliter quam si tot millibus hominum esset cor unum et anima una. In deliciis talibus expenditur dies feriatus in vesperum, et regibus lassatis, nondum satiatis, digredientibus, singuli suas revertuntur in partes.

Juven. vi. 130.

Richard hangs thieves of whatever nation.

Rex Angliæ mox die crastino erigi fecit patibula extra castra, ad suspendendos in eis latrunculos et prædones. Non parcebant judices delegati sexui vel ætati, parque fuit advenæ et indigenæ rei lex et supplicium.

Rex Franciæ quicquid sui peccarent vel peccaretur in suos, dissimulavit et tacuit; rex Angliæ, pro indifferenti habens cujates crimen involveret, omnem hominem suum reputans, nihil injuriarum reliquit inultum; unde et unus dictus est Agnus a Grifonibus,[1] alter Leonis nomen accepit.

He demands his sister's dowry and the legacy due to her.

Rex Angliæ misit legatos suos ad regem Siciliæ, exigens Johannam sororem suam, reginam quondam Siciliæ, et dotarium ejus, cum cathedra aurea, et totum legatum Willelmi regis, quod legaverat Henrico regi

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[1] The spelling in P. is *Grifones* throughout, but in C. often *Griffones*. The difference has not been noted.

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patri suo, scilicet, mensam auream duodecim pedum in longum, tentorium sericum, centum galeas optimas ξ. cum omnibus sibi ad duos annos necessariis, sexaginta millia silinas de frumento, sexaginta millia de hordeo, sexaginta millia de vino, viginti quatuor cuppas aureas, et viginti et quatuor discos aureos.

Rex Siciliæ, mandata regis Anglorum parvo ponderans, et de exigentiis minus cogitans, sororem remisit illi cum thalami ejus simplice supellectili, datis tamen illi dignatione regia mille millibus terrinorum ad expensas.

Richard's seizure of castles in Calabria.

Sequenti die tertio, rex Angliæ, transmisso flumine magno Del Far, quod a Sicilia Kalabriam separat, armatus venit Kalabriam, et cepit in ea oppidum munitissimum quod dicitur La Banniere,[1] ejectisque Grifonibus, posuit ibi sororem suam, et locum milite munivit armato.

Rursus rex cepit castellum fortissimum quod dicitur Monasterium Grifonum, in ipso flumine Del Far, situm inter La Banniere et Messanam, captumque firmavit; confectosque sine miseratione calamitatibus variis Grifones, qui restiterant, suis fieri fecit ludibrio.

Richard sends forward a strong force to the Holy Land.

Wido rex Ierosolymorum mandavit Philippo regi *at o.* Francorum et Ricardo regi Anglorum, hiemantibus in Sicilia, quod residui Christianorum, qui ante Acras excubabant, propter sui impotentiam et paganorum violentiam, nisi subveniatur celerius, aut fugere haberent aut occumbere. Ad quorum præsidium reges præmiserunt Henricum comitem Campaniæ, et Baldewinum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, et Hubertum episcopum Saresburiæ,[2] et Rannulfum de Glanvilla,[3] cum exercitu valido; ex quibus Baldewinus archiepiscopus et Ranulfus de Glanvilla obierunt in obsidione civitatis, quam Latini Acras, Judæi Accaron dicunt, dum adhuc reges morarentur in Sicilia.

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[1] Here and below in P. a hair stroke causes this word to read *Bainnere*.

[2] *Sarum*, C.

[3] *Glanwilla*, C. This difference will not be further noted.

A.D. 1190

Tumults arise between the Greek inhabitants of Sicily and the English.

o. Grifones ante Ricardi regis adventum in Siciliam omnibus regionis illius potentibus fortiores, cum et Ultramontanos semper oderint, novis jam irritati casibus amplius incanduerunt, universisque, qui regem Franciæ dominum fatebantur, pace servata, tota injuriarum de rege Anglorum et caudatis suis ultio quæritur; Græculi enim et Siculi omnes hunc regem sequentes Anglos et caudatos[1] nominabant. Denegatur igitur Anglis ex edicto omnis terræ negotiatio, cæduntur diebus ac noctibus per quadragenos et quinquagenos, ubicunque reperiuntur inermes. Cædes multiplicatur in dies, eoque usque meditatum est in insania procedere, donec singulos aut funderent, aut fugarent. Hisce tumultibus excitatus rex Angliæ, leo ille teterrimus, horrendum rugiit, iras tanto pectore dignas concipiens. Perterruit ejus amicissimos furor insanientis, curia contrahitur, sedent circa solium nominati principes exercitus, quilibet in ordine suo, foretque facillimum[2] legere præsidentis in vultu quicquid tacitus mente tractabat, si quis in ejus faciem oculos auderet attollere. Post diuturnum[3] summumque silentium, rex indignantia talibus ora resolvit.

These events rouse the king to action.

His speech to his men.

Lucan. i. 299, 300.

"O mei milites! O regni mei robur et corona! "vos 'mille mecum pericula passi,'[4] vos, qui viribus "tot mihi tyrannos domuistis et civitates, videtis "quod vulgus ignavum jam nobis insultat? Expug"nabimus nos Turcos et Arabes, erimus nos terrori "gentibus invictissimis, faciet nobis viam dextra "nostra usque ad terræ terminos post crucem Christi, "restituemus nos regnum Israel, qui vilibus et effe"minatis Grifonibus terga dederimus? Nos hic in

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[1] Mr. Stevenson notes that it was a standing joke against the English, as late as the reign of Edward III., to accuse them of having tails. Dr. Liebermann (Pertz xxvii. 77, note 2) quotes from a 13th cent. poem, "*Angli caudati, qui sunt ad* "*pocula nati.*"

[2] *facillime,* C.

[3] *diuturnum,* P. C.

[4] In P. the words *in Aquitania,* are written at the foot of the page.

A.D. 1190.

"patriæ nostræ devicti confinio tendemus ulterius, "ut ex Anglorum inertia in finibus orbis fabula fiat? "Estne, mei, mihi justa satis nova causa doloris? "Videre quidem me videor vos ex deliberatione viribus parcere, ut olim cum Salahadino forte fortius "confligatis. Ego dominus et rex vester vos diligo, "ego de decore vestro sollicitor, ego dico vobis, ego "prædico frequentius, si modo sic abeatis inulti, præcedet vos et comitabitur hujus vilis fama diffugii. "Erigentur contra vos anus et parvuli, singulisque "hostium in fugitivos vires duplices ministrabit audacia. Scio quoniam[1] invitum qui servat idem facit "occidenti; neminem rex retinebit invitum, nolo cuiquam vestrum mecum morandi vim facere, ne "pavor unius in certamine confidentiam frangat alterius. Quisque sequetur quod elegerit, sed ego aut "hic moriar, aut meas communes vobis ulciscar "injurias. Si vivus hinc iero, non videbit me Salahadinus nisi victorem; vos fugietis, et me regem "vestrum relictum opponetis solum discrimini."

Hor. A. P., 467.

Rex orationem vix bene finierat et infremuerunt omnes viri[2] virtutis, eo turbati tantummodo quod dominus suus de suis videbatur diffidere. Promittunt se ex animo ad quicquid præceperit parituros, montes et muros æreos penetrare parati. Ponat supercilium: tota sibi, si jusserit, sudore suo Sicilia subjicietur; totus, si voluerit, usque ad Columnas[3] Herculis, ibit in sanguine. "Substitit ut clamor pressus gravitate regentis:" "Placet," inquit, "quod "audio, reficitis viscera mea, qui pudorem vestrum "propulsare paratis. Et, quia semper nocuit differre "paratis, mora tollenda est, ut sit subitum quodcumque paramus. Messana mihi capietur in primis: "Grifones aut se redimant, aut vendantur. Si rex

Hor. ep. 1. 1. 60.

The king's further address to his men.

Ov. Met. i. 207.

Lucan, i. 50.

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[1] *qm̃*, in P. and C.

[2] *viri fortes et virtutis*, C.; *viri virtutis*, P.

[3] *columna*, C.

A.D. 1190.

"Tancredus de dotario sororis meæ et legato Willelmi regis, quod me pro patre contingit, celerius "non satisfecerit, post depopulationem regni sui singula reddere compelletur in quadruplum. Occupantis erit quicquid cuique venietur in prædam, soli "domino meo regi Francorum, qui in civitate quiescit, "et omnibus suis, servetur summa tranquillitas. "Expediantur infra biduum ad duo millia equitum "ex universo exercitu electorum, qui non habeant "corda in caligis, et mille pedites sagittarii. Sit lex "servata sine remedio: pedes pleno pede fugiens, "pedem perdat; miles privetur cingulo. Militari disciplina discreto ordine singuli disponantur in acies, "et die tertio ad clangorem buccinæ me primum et "prævium sequantur ad civitatem." Cum summis applausibus solvitur concio; rex, vultus rigore remisso, visus est voluntati eorum ipsa oris serenitate gratias agere.

On Oct. 4 the king of France and ambassadors from Tancred have an interview with Richard.

Mirum intercidit ut causam regis nec hostis ejus causari posset injustam. Die tertio, quo producendus erat exercitus, summo mane, Ricardus archiepiscopus Messanæ, archiepiscopus de Monte Regali, archiepiscopus de Risa, Margaritus Admiralis,[1] Jordanus de Pin, et plures alii de familiaribus Tancredi regis, assumptis secum Philippo rege Francorum, episcopo Carnoti, duce Burgundiæ, comitibus de Neverso et de Pertico, et multis sequacibus regis Franciæ, item Rothomagensi et Auxiensi[2] archiepiscopis, Ebroicensi et Bairnocensi[3] episcopis, et omnibus qui quicquam posse putabantur ex Anglis, venerunt reverenter ad regem Angliæ, ut sibi de omnibus querelis ad libitum suum facerent satisfieri. Rex diu multumque rogatus ad tantorum virorum instantiam flectitur, et super ipsos precatores pacis ponit judicium. Pensent quanti

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[1] *Admirabilis,* P.C.

[2] *Anxiensi,* P. C.

[3] *Bairnocencensi,* C., *i.e., Baoniensi* (Bayonne). See Hoved. iii. 62.

A.D. 1190.

sit quod pertulerit, et provideant[1] ne minus ponderet pacata quam peccatum. Satis erit sibi quicquid sufficere deliberatio communis debere decreverit, si tamen ab ejusdem horæ momento nemo Grifonum in suos manus miserit.[2] Multum mirati sunt magisque[3] lætati ad insperatæ responsa mansuetudinis qui advenerant, quod novissimo proposuerat illi[4] ponentes in manum, de reliquo tractaturi seorsum consederunt, a conspectu regis remoti.

A sudden tumult disturbs the negotiations.

Regis exercitus prædictum pridie taxatus in numerum cum gravi taciturnitate præstolabatur[5] in armis extra castra preconem, ab orto jam sole, et formatores pacis morosius agentes in horam plene tertiam diem protraxerant, cum ecce! subito et ex improviso clamatur audita nimis voce pro[6] foribus, "Arma, arma, "viri! Hugo Brunus captus cæditur a Grifonibus, "quicquid habet diripitur, et homines ejus occidun-"tur." Confudit clamor pacis infractæ de pace tractantes, et rex Franciæ talem prorupit in vocem, "Per-"pendo quod Deus odit hos homines et induravit cor "eorum, ut cadant in manus cruciatoris;" reversusque celeriter cum omnibus, qui secum fuerant, in regis papilionem, invenit eum jam ferro se vestientem, cui brevibus infit, "Testis ero coram omnibus hominibus "quicquid acciderit, quod inculpabilis eris, si amodo "contra maledictos Grifones arma portaveris." Dixerat et discedit, sequuntur eum qui secum venerant, et recipiuntur pariter in civitatem. Rex Angliæ procedit armatus, vexillum terribile draconis præfertur expansum, clangor tubæ post regem movet exercitum. Refulsit sol in clipeos aureos et resplenduerunt montes ab eis; ibant caute et ordinate, et sine ludo res agebatur. Grifones, e diverso, clausis januis civitatis,

Æn. ii. 668.

Richard prepares to storm Messina.

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[1] *providi eant*, P. C.

[2] *miserit*, P.; *mittat*, C., with "vel *miserit*" in the margin.

[3] *magisque*, P. C.

[4] *illi*, om. C.

[5] *præstolabantur*, P. C.

[6] *pro*, P. and C.

A.D. 1190.

armati stabant ad propugnacula murorum et turrium, nihil adhuc metuentes, et ejaculabantur incessanter in hostes. Rex, qui nihil melius novit quam expugnare civitates et evertere castra, permisit primo pharetras eorum evacuari, et sic demum per suos sagittarios, qui præibant exercitum, primum fecit insultum. Sagittarum imbre cœlum tegitur, protensos per propugnacula clipeos mille tela transfodiunt, nihil contra pilorum impetum poterat salvare rebelles. Relinquuntur muri sine custodia, quia nullus potuit foris prospicere quin in ictu oculi sagittam haberet in oculo.

The gates of Messina are broken down and the city is captured.

Accedit interim rex cum milite suo sine repulsa libere acsi licenter ad januas civitatis, quas, admoto ariete, dicto citius contrivit, et, inducto exercitu, omnia cepit munita urbis usque ad palatium Tancredi et hospitia Francorum circa sui regis hospitium, quibus pepercit ob reverentiam domini sui regis. Ponuntur vexilla victorum super turres civitatis in gyrum, et deditas munitiones singulas singulis tradidit ex principibus exercitus, et hospitari fecit magnates suos in civitate. Suscepit obsides filios omnium nobilium civitatis et provinciæ, ut aut redimantur ad regis æstimationem, aut reliqua pars civitatis illi sine Marte reddatur, et a rege suo Tancredo de exigentiis suis sibi satisfiat.[1] Hora diei quinta oppugnare cœperat[2] urbem, et cepit eam hora decima; et, revocato exercitu, reversus est victor in castra. Tancredus rex, ad nunciantium sibi rerum exitus verba perterritus, festinavit cum eo finem facere, missis illi viginti millibus unciarum auri pro dotario sororis, et aliis viginti millibus unciarum auri pro legato Willelmi regis et perpetua sibi et suis pace servanda. Suscipitur satis ægre et indignanter illud parum pecuniæ, redduntur obsides, et ab utriusque partis optimatibus pax firma juratur.

Tancred submits to Richard.

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[1] *satisfiat*, P. C.

[2] *cæperat*, P. and C.

A.D. 1190.

Richard's wooden castle "Mategrifun."

π. Rex Angliæ, minus adhuc credens indigenis, fecit castellum ligneum novum magnæ fortitudinis et eminentiæ juxta muros Messanæ, quod, ad opprobrium Grifonum, "Mategrifun" nominavit. Glorificata est fortitudo regis valde, et siluit terra in conspectu ejus.

Walter abbot of Westminster dies, Sept. 27.

at π. Walterus, ex monacho et priore sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis ecclesiæ abbas[1] Westmonasterii, oppetiit, quinto kalendas Octobris.

Queen Eleanor accompanies Berengère of Navarre to Sicily.

ρ. Regina Alienor, femina incomparabilis, pulchra et pudica, potens et modesta, humilis et diserta, quod in femina solet inveniri rarissime, quæ non minus annosa quam quæ duos reges maritos[2] habuerat et duos reges filios, ad omnes adhuc indefessa labores, posse cujus ætas sua mirari potuit, assumpta secum filia regis Navarorum, puella prudentiore quam pulchra, secuta est regem filium suum, et consecuta morantem[3] adhuc in Sicilia, venit Risam civitatem omni bono plenam et bonam receptui, præstolatura ibi velle regis, cum legatis regis Navarorum et virgine.

Insinuations as to Queen Eleanor's earlier life.

at ρ. Multi noverunt quod utinam nemo nostrum nosset. Hæc ipsa regina tempore prioris mariti fuit Ierosolymis. Nemo plus inde loquatur; et ego bene novi. Silete![4]

A.D. 1191.

Anno millesimo centesimo nonagesimo primo.

Conference between John and Longchamp, March 4

at σ. Colloquium primum inter comitem de Moretonio, fratrem regis, et cancellarium, de custodiis quorumdam castellorum, et de pecunia comiti a fratre de scaccario concessa, apud Wintoniam ad *Lætare Ierusalem.*

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[1] *abbas factus est,* C. only.

[2] In P. a short erasure intervenes here.

[3] Corrected from *memorantem,* C.

[4] This paragraph, as appearing in P., strongly suggests the author's own hand. From *multi* to *loquatur* the words are written inside a wavy line, which forms a triangle standing on its apex. The remaining words are written on the left side of the figure.

A.D. 1191.

Robert prior of St. Swithun becomes a Carthusian.

at τ. Robertus prior sancti Swithuni Wintoniæ, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witteham,[1] dolore,—an dicam devotione?—dejecit se in sectam Cartusiæ.[2]

Walter prior of Bath repented of a similar step.

at υ. Walterus prior Batoniæ prius id idem[3] simili fervore vel furore præsumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare.

Richard renounces his betrothal to the sister of the king of France.

Rex autem, qui dudum juraverat regi Franciæ se sororem ejus accepturum in conjugem, quam pater suus Henricus rex illi providerat et diu valde custo- *σ.* dierat, quia suspectam habuit custodiam,[4] meditabatur *τ.* puellam, quam mater adduxerat, ducere. Et ut desiderium, quo vehementer ardebat, sine difficultate consequeretur, evocatum ad se comitem Flandriæ[5] consuluit, hominem eloquentissimum et ad omne pretium linguam habentem, cujus mediatione rex Franciæ remisit regi Angliæ juramentum de sorore ducenda, et quietam clamavit ei in perpetuum totam terram de *υ.* Vaegesin et Gisortium, receptis ab eo decem millibus librarum argenti.[6]

The French king starts for the East, March 30.

Rex Franciæ, cum suo exercitu regem Angliæ præcedens versus Ierosolymam, mari se credidit tertio kalendas[7] Aprilis.

Richard dismantles castle "Mategriffun," carrying the materials in his ships.

Rex Angliæ relicturus Siciliam fecit defieri castellum, quod exstruxerat, et totam materiem secum portandam in navibus suis reposuit. Omne genus machinarum ad expugnandas munitiones, et omne genus armorum, quod cor hominis potuit excogitare, præsto jam habebat in navibus.

Robert bishop of Worcester consecrated, May 5.

at φ. Robertus filius Willelmi filii[8] Radulphi consecratus est in episcopum[9] Wigorniæ a Willelmo de Longo Campo adhuc legato, apud Cantuariam, tertio nonas Maii.

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[1] *Witham*, C.

[2] This is the person to whom the author dedicates his work.

[3] *ibidem*, C.

[4] See Giraldus, *De Instructione Principum*, 91, and Benedict, ii. 160,

[5] *Flandre* (sic) P.

[6] A line erased here from P.

[7] Corrected from *nonas*, C.

[8] *Willelmi filii*, interlined in P.

[9] *episcopum*, P. and C.

A.D. 1191.

The monks of Canterbury depose their prior.

Conventus Cantuariæ deposuit priorem suum, quem at χ. Baldewinus[1] archiepiscopus eis præfecerat, et alterum loco depositi substituit.

Queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen return.

Walterus archiepiscopus Rothomagi quia, ut cleri- φ. corum est, pusillanimis erat et pavidus, salutata a longe Ierosolyma, omnem non rogatus remisit erga Salahadinum indignationem, et regi pro eo pugnaturo quicquid viatici attulerat donavit, et crucem prætendens, pudoris oblitus, illa,[2] quam miserrima matrum diffidentia peperit, devotione; scilicet, pastores ecclesiæ debere potius prædicare quam prœliari, non decere episcopum arma portare nisi virtutum. Rex autem, cui necessarior visa est pecunia illius quam personæ præsentia, allegationes, ac si viva nimis ratione de- χ. victus, approbavit, et expeditum retromisit eum literis suis in Angliam ad Willelmum cancellarium, de fisco sub certo hominum et equorum numero exhibendum triennio; hoc in fine literarum addito, pro honore et pro toto, ut cancellarius in agendis regni ejus uteretur consilio.[3]

Richard sends the inefficient homewards.

Ex factis hujus archiepiscopi rex factus instructior, purgavit exercitum, non permittens secum quemquam venire, nisi qui bene posset, et bono animo vellet, arma portare; nec revertentibus pecunias suas illuc usque allatas secum reportare permisit, aut arma. Reginam quoque matrem suam omni, ut decuit, honore susceptam, et post dulces deosculationes gloriose deductam, redire fecit cum archiepiscopo, retenta sibi puella, quam quæsierat,[4] et fidei sororis suæ credita, quæ jam ad occursum matris in castra redierat.

Death of John bishop of Exeter.

Johannes Exoniensis episcopus diem clausit ex- at ψ. tremum.

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[1] The news of his death reached England in March. As to the reason for prior Osbern's ejection, see Gervase, i. p. 495.

[2] A short blank follows in P.

[3] As to the effect of this letter, see W. of Newburgh, i. 336 and 344. Benedict says that the archbishop did not produce the letter until the council on Oct. 8. Cf. the *Vit. Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 399.

[4] These words are from Ambroise:

La pucele retint, qu'ot chiere;
E sa mere envoia ariere.

A.D. 1191.

at ω. Savaricus[1] archidiaconus Northamtoniæ, et ipse unus ex plurimis, qui regem Angliæ[2] ex Anglia prosecuti sunt in Siciliam, donatus est a rege literis patentibus in matris regis præsentia, ad justiciarios Angliæ, assensum regis et aliquid majus assensu continentibus, ut, in quamlibet diœcesim vacantem foret electus, promoveretur. Hos apices Savaricus misit cognato suo episcopo Batoniæ in Angliam, ipse vero Romam concessit, sicut qui fuerat Romanis notissimus.

Celestinus papa.[3]

Richard leaves Sicily for the East, April 10.

Ricardus rex Angliæ, literis in Angliam destinatis, toti regno suo valedicens et de honorando ab omnibus cancellario summam mentionem faciens, parata classe sua meliore quam multa, cum exercitu electo *ψ.* et forti, cum Johanna sorore sua ac virgine maritanda, cum omnibus quæ pugnaturis aut peregre profecturis necessaria esse poterant, vento vela commisit, *ω.* quarto idus Aprilis. In classe autem erant naves clvj., buceæ xxiiij., galeæ xxxix.: summa vasorum cc. et xix.

The archbishop of Rouen reaches England. The king's parting directions to his subjects.

Rothomagensis archiepiscopus venit Angliam ad cancellarium, a quo susceptus et exhibitus est honorifice, et multo melius quam rex mandaverat. Subsecuti sunt et alii cum multis mandatis, in quibus omnibus erat conclusio, cancellario parendum ab omnibus. Fratri maximo suo Johanni mandavit per singulos nunciorum, ut adhæreret cancellario, ut contra omnes homines illi fieret præsidio, ut præstitum sibi sacramentum non violaret.

His directions as to ecclesiastical matters.

at aa. Rex Angliæ mandavit cancellario, et conventui Cantuariæ, et episcopis provinciæ, ut canonice et communiter consulerent metropoli, quia Baldewinus defunctus prælato destituerat; de abbatia vero Westmonasterii jam vacante solo cancellario permittitur ordinare pro libito.

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[1] See *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 350.

[2] *Angliæ*, C.; not in P.

[3] In the margin of both MSS.

A.D. 1191.

Eclipse of the sun (on 23 June).

Eclipsis solis circa horam diei tertiam: mirati sunt qui causas rerum nesciunt, nullis obstantibus soli nubibus, medio die solis radios solito lucere debilius; sed hi, quos agitat mundi labor, dicunt solis et lunæ defectus facere aliquid non significare.

at ββ.

Behaviour of John: signs of conspiracy against the chancellor.

αα.

Johannes frater regis, qui illo dudum aures habuerat, ut pro certo novit quod frater ad Angliam terga verterat, jam ibat per regionem populosior, nec prohibebat[1] suos se regis nominantes heredem. Et sicut horrescere solum solet ad solis absentiam, sic alterata est regni facies ad regis abscessum. Moventur quique majores, castra firmantur, muniuntur oppida, fossata raduntur. Archiepiscopus Rothomagi non magis futura[2] præsentiens quam qui fomes laudabatur erroris, ita arridere callebat[3] cancellario, ut et ejus æmulis non displiceret. Mittuntur[4] privatim brevia per barones cleri et populi, et sollicitantur animi singulorum in cancellarium. Militia comiti libenter sed latenter consentiebat, clerus vero natura meticulosior, neutrius audebat jurare in verba magistri. Cancellarius hæc sentiens dissimulavit, scire dedignans quod aliquis in eum aliquo modo aliquid audere præsumeret.

ββ.

Ovid. Art. Amat. i. 687.

The chancellor tries to oust Gerard de Camville from Lincoln.

Tandem olla detegitur; nunciatur illi quod Girardus de Camvilla, homo factiosus et fidei prodigus, homagium fecerat Johanni comiti fratri regis de castello Lincolniæ, cujus custodia ad hereditatem Nicholaæ,[5] uxoris ejusdem Girardi, spectare dinoscitur, sed sub rege. Factum redundare creditur[6] in coronam, et placet ultum ire commissum. Collecto[7] igi-

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[1] "*prohibebat* vel *cohibebat*," P.

[2] *futura*, P.; *futuri*, C.

[3] *arridebat callide*, C.

[4] Above *mittuntur* there is an alternative reading, "vel *ibant*," in P. and C.

[5] D. Lanc. Chart., Record Off.

[6] *videtur*, C.

[7] From this point, in the margins as far as "cancellarium quocunque," &c. (p. 416, l. 28–29) is an account of crusading affairs, beginning "Classis Ricardi." This is inserted in accordance with Mr. Stevenson's plan on p. 422.

Wigmore is surrendered to him.

John's counter measures.

tur celeriter copioso exercitu, venit in partes illas, et primo versus Wigemoram facto impetu, Rogerum de Mortuo Mari, insimulatum de conjuratione in regem[1] facta cum Wallensibus, castra dedere, et Angliam abjurare coegit triennio. Culpatur abscedens a complicibus de cordis inopia, quod multo munitus milite, castrorum et facultatis abundans, ante ictum ad nudas minas presbyteri cecidisset. Sera fuit post casum correptio; Rogerus regnum egreditur, et cancellarius jubet[2] obsidere Lincolniam. Girardus erat cum comite, et uxor ejus Nicolaa,[3] nihil femineum cogitans, castellum viriliter custodiebat. Cancellarius versabatur totus circa Lincolniam, dum comes Johannes castrum de Notingeham et illud de Tikehulla[4] utrumque fortissimum, custodibus solo timore ad deditionem coactis, occupavit.[5] Addidit etiam mandare cancellario ut obsidionem solveret, alioquin se hominis sui ulturum injuriam; non decere legalibus hominibus regni notis et liberis custodias suas auferre, et advenis et ignotis committere; argumentum ejus esse stultitiæ quod talibus castra regis crediderat, quia ea transeuntibus exponerent; cuilibet barbaro si præterisset eadem facilitate qua et sibi castella patuisse; se nolle diutius rerum et regni fratris desolationem silentio sustinere.

Negotiations between John and the chancellor

Cancellarius, ad hæc turbatus incredibiliter, accitis coram se proceribus et primis exercitus, infit, "Non " mihi credideritis, si homo iste regnum sibi subju- " gare non quærit. Præproperum est quod præsumit, " etiam si deberet cum fratre annuatim alternare " coronam, quia Eteocles nondum annum integrum " explevit in regno." Multa in hunc modum verba doloris efflaverat, et rursus resumpto spiritu, ut erat

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[1] "vel *regnum*," interlined, P.

[2] "vel *facit*," interlined in P.

[3] *Nicholaa*, C.

[4] The *k* is erased from P.

[5] This was before the news of pope Clement's death, on April 10, had reached England, W. of Newburgh, p. 338.

A.D. 1191. major corde quam corpore, magna quædam mente concipiens, misit ad comitem archiepiscopum Rothomagensem, mandans imperativo modo ut castra redderet, et de juramento erga fratrem infracto coram curia regis responderet. Archiepiscopus, utraque manu fabricare peritus, cancellarii laudavit constantiam; et profectus ad comitem post mandatorum expressionem posuit ei in aurem ut, quicquid alii dicerent, auderet aliquid magnum, "Gyaris et carcere dignum," si vellet esse aliquid. Juven. i. 73. In publico autem consuluit ut comes et cancellarius ad colloquium convenirent, et dissidentiam eorum compromissio in arbitros terminaret.

Comes ad mandatorum indecentiam plus quam iratus, toto corpore fiebat incognoscibilis. Rancor frontem sulcavit in rugas, scintillabant ardentes oculi, rosam faciei livor infecit, scioque quid fieret de cancellario, si in ipsa furoris hora inter manus gesticulantis devenisset in pomum. Indignatio in tantum clauso crevit in pectore, quod aut creperet aut partem aliquam virus evomeret. "Filius," inquit, "perditionis, "pejorum pessimus, qui de Francorum facetiis præ"posterum geniculandi genus transvexit primus ad "Anglos, non me vexaret, ut cernitis, si oblatam mihi "novam scientiam scire non refutassem." Majora volebat vel vera vel falsa dicere, sed ad reverentiam præsentis archiepiscopi mentem recolligens et comprimens vecordiam, "Si male locutus sum," ait, "archi"episcope, veniam peto." Post frivola seriis intendebant, ratiocinatum est circa mandata cancellarii, et utrumque consilium archiepiscopi ad diei medium consentitur in colloquendum. Dies figitur quinto kalendas Augusti;[1] locus, extra Wintoniam. Cancellarius con-

A conference is arranged for July 28, outside Winchester.

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[1] Bishop Stubbs, in his edition of Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 208, note [1], gives the probable order of events at this date. Richard of Devizes carelessly presents us with an agreement (see p. 410) dated April 25, as the result of a conference held on July 28.

cessit stare quod providerant, et, dimissa obsidione, reversus est Londoniam.

Both parties come to the conference with armies.

Comes vero, verens ejus versutias, conduxit sibi[1] quatuor millia Wallensium, ut, si cancellarius inter inducias illum capere conaretur, isti in latebris locati ex latere colloquii conatus ejus infringerent ex abrupto.[2] Præterea, summoniri instituit et rogari, ut quisquis hominum suorum et aliorum se amantium conveniens esset ad bella procedere, secum veniret loco et die ad susceptum, sed suspectum, sibi cum domino totius terræ colloquium,[3] ut saltem vivus evaderet, si plus quam rex ille et nimius in oculis suis contra jus fori faceret, aut in transactionem non consentiret. At contra cancellarius tertium cum omnibus armis totius Angliæ militem die nominato mandavit venire Wintoniam; de redditibus etiam regis conduxit et ipse Wallenses, ut si decertandum foret cum comite, haberet pares acies, "et pila minantia pilis." Lucan, i. 7.

Terms agreed upon between John and the chancellor, April 25 (July 28).

Conventum est ad colloquium, sicut condictum est et prædictum, quod in melius quam timebatur contigit terminari. Conventio igitur facta inter comitem et cancellarium erat hujusmodi, et hoc modo provisa. Tres in primis nominantur episcopi, Wintoniensis, Londoniensis, et[4] Batoniensis, in quorum fidelitatem utraque pars secura se credidit. Episcopi elegerunt ad partem cancellarii tres comites, de Warenna, de Arundel, de Clara et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Ad partem comitis, Stephanum Ridel, comitis cancellarium, Willelmum de Wenneval, Reginaldum de Wasseville, et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Isti omnes juraverunt, alii inspectis, alii tactis, sacrosanctis Evangeliis, se provisuros inter comitem et cancellarium de querelis eorum et quæstionibus satisfactionem ad honorem utriusque partis et pacem regni. Et si quid deinceps inter eos contrarietatis emerserit, fideliter ter-

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[1] *sibi*, P.; *illi*, C.

[2] *arrupto*, P.C.

[3] *colloquio*, P.C.

[4] *et*, om. C.

A.D. 1191.

minabunt. Comes etiam et cancellarius juraverunt se in quicquid prædicti juratores providerint consensuros; et hæc fuit provisio. Girardo de Camvilla [1] in gratiam cancellarii recepto, remansit illi in bono et pace custodia castri de Lincolnia; comes reddidit castella quæ ceperat, quæ recepta cancellarius tradidit fidelibus et ligiis hominibus regis, scilicet, Willelmo de Wenn[eval] [2] castellum de Notingeham, et Reginaldo de Wasseville castellum de Tikehulla; et uterque istorum dedit obsidem cancellario, quod castella illa custodirent in salva pace et fidelitate domini regis, si vivus rediret. Si autem rex ante regressum in fata concederet, prædicta castra comiti redderentur, et cancellarius redderet obsides. Constabularii castellorum de honoribus comitis mutarentur a cancellario, si eos mutandos comes de ratione monstraret. Cancellarius, si rex obiret, comiti exheredationem non quæreret; sed pro omni eum posse suo promoveret ad regnum. Actum solemniter apud Wintoniam, septimo kalendas [3] Maii.[4]

The chancellor induces the monks of Westminster to receive his brother.

Cancellarius mira exactione et instantia induxit primo partem aliquam monachorum, et postmodum totam congregationem Westmonasterii, quod permiserunt fratrem ejus, monachum de Cadomo, profiteri cohabitationem in Westmonasterio, eligendum ab omnibus sibi in abbatem a professione et cohabitatione, die nominato: et ut hæc fabricatio non infringeretur, scripto cautum est, sigillo ecclesiæ apposito in testimonium.

Archbishop Geoffrey of York endeavours to return to England.

Gaufridus, non ex matre frater Ricardi regis et Johannis comitis, qui consecratus fuerat in archiepiscopum Eboracensem Turonis ab archiepiscopo Turonensi, de mandato summi pontificis, non semel sollicitavit mandatis Johannem fratrem regis et suum, ut saltem suo assensu reverti sibi liceret in Angliam; quo consentiente, redire paravit. Intermandata fratrum non latuerunt cancellarium, qui præcavens ne qualitas genuinæ perversitatis cresceret ex augmento, mandavit custodibus littorum, ut ubicumque archiepiscopus ille, qui Angliam abjuraverat triennio peregrinationis regis, terræ illaberetur infra terminum, progredi non permitteretur, nisi de consilio juratorum, in quos comes et cancellarius juramento compromiserant de omnibus, quæ poterant intercidere.[1]

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[1] C. has the spelling *Camwilla*, and *Wassewille*.

[2] *Wenn̄*, P.C.

[3] Altered in C. from *idus*.

[4] This treaty is out of place. See note 1 on p. 408.

Story as to Robert prior of Hereford and the monks of Michelney.

Robertus quidam prior Herefordensis, monachus de seipso nihil modicum æstimans, alienis se negociis, ut sua intersereret, libenter ingerens, in cancellarii mandatis ierat ad regem in Siciliam; ubi non est oblitus sui post cetera: qui, quocunque modo quemcunque pigeret, abbatiam de Muchenia concessam sibi a rege et confirmatam, meruit obtinere. Ad quam, agente cancellario, contra velle conventus possidendam, nec canonice nec cum benedictione, ingressus; et primo mox die ad primum prandium ex anguillis recentibus avidius sine vino quam expediret, et amplius insumendo, incidit in languorem, quem peperit cibus indigestus et hærens ardenti stomacho. Et ne voracitati languor ascriberetur, monachos loci de dato sibi toxico fecit infamari. Juven. iii. 233.

Arch-bishop Geoffrey lands at Dover.

Gaufridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, de consensu Johannis comitis fratris sui præsumens, parato navigio suo, Dovram appulit; qui mox terræ redditus primo petiit oraturus ecclesiam. Est ibi prioratus monachorum de professione Cantuariorum, quorum oratorium missas[2] auditurus cum clericis suis ingressus est, et familia ejus circa exsarcinandas naves erat intenta. Jam tota suppellex terram tenuit, cum subito constabularius castelli quicquid putabatur esse archiepiscopi trahi[3] fecit in oppidum, plus in mandato domini sui cancellarii intelligens, quam mandaverat. Quidam etiam militum, armati sub tunicis et spatis accincti, venerunt in monasterium, ut comprehenderent pontifi-

He is violently dragged to prison.

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[1] P. gives an alternative reading, "vel *post accidere*."

[2] *missam*, C.

[3] A short erasure in P.

A.D. 1191. cem; quos ut vidit, præcognita voluntate eorum, accepit crucem in manus suas, priorque eos alloquens et manus in suos extendens, ait, "Ego sum archiepi-"scopus, si me quæritis, sinite hos abire." Et milites, "Utrum," inquiunt, "archiepiscopus sis, necne, nihil "ad nos; unum scimus, quoniam tu es Gaufridus "filius Henrici regis, quem genuit quocumque thoro, "qui coram rege,[1] cujus te fratrem facis, Angliam "abjurasti triennio: si sicut traditor regni in regnum "non veneris, si literas absolutionis attuleris, 'aut "'dic, aut accipe calcem.'" Juven. ii. 295. Tunc archiepiscopus, "Traditor," inquit, "nec[2] sum, nec literas aliquas "vobis ostendam." Injecerunt illico coram ipso altari manus in eum, et invitum ac renitentem, non repugnantem, violenter extraxerunt de ecclesia; qui mox extra limen positus ipsos, qui in eum manum[3] miserant, præsentes et audientes et adhuc illum tenentes, excommunicavit ex nomine, et oblatum sibi equum, ut cum illis ad castrum equitaret, quia mancipium fuit excommunicatorum, non recepit. Quem, totius obliti mansuetudinis, per manus trahebant peditem et crucem portantem per lutum platearum[4] usque in castrum. Post hæc omnia, cum captivo suo de gratia sua volebant humanius[5] agere, inferentes illi de melioribus cibis, quos sibi paraverant, sed ille, ex his quæ jam tulerat factus constantior, cibos illorum velut idoliticum respuens, nolebat vivere nisi de proprio. It rumor per regionem vento velocior, sequuntur qui dominum suum secuti fuerant a longe, referentes et conquerentes ad omnes archiepiscopum fratrem regis sic appulsum, sic tractatum, sic retentum in carcere.

Arch-bishop

Archiepiscopus erat in custodia jam triduanus, et cancellarius, statim ut sibi casus innotuit, omnibus suis illi redditis, fecit liberum quaquaversum vellet abire. Scripsit insuper Johanni comiti et omnibus episcopis, cum juramento asserens citra conscientiam suam præfatum virum præscriptas injurias pertulisse. Parum profecit excusatio, quia dudum quæsita et votis empta visco tenacius retenta est, quæ se sponte obtulit, adversus eum occasio. Excommunicantur ab omni ecclesia totius regni, in speciale, præsumptores tantæ temeritatis, qui in archiepiscopum manus injecerant, in genere, auctores et consentientes;[1] ut saltem in generali maledictione cancellarius omnibus invidiosus involveretur.[2]

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[1] From *quem* on erasure, P.

[2] *non*, C.

[3] *manum*, P.; *manus*, C.

[4] These same words, *per lutum platearum*, occur in Benedict's account, ii. 211, and there are one or two other expressions, both here and in the *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 392, which possibly point to a common source of information — probably a letter of which copies were circulated.

[5] *humanius*, P. and C.

Geoffrey's release.

Comes Johannes, in non amatum sibi cancellarium genuinos exacuens, coram singulis episcoporum et magnatum regni de infracta ex adversa parte juratæ pacis conventione, de fratris ejus ad sui dedecus captione, querelam deposuit plurimum ponderosam. Rogantur juratores et adjurantur[3] stare promissioni juratæ, faciantque celerius ne deterius fiat, ut fidefragus et perjurus satisfactione digna deleat quod deliquit. Res in nugis hactenus actitata jam procedit ad certum:[4] summonitur valida auctoritate omnium suorum et comitis mediatorum cancellarius, ut ad accusationes comitis responsurus et juri pariturus sibi occurrat, loco ad Pontem Lodani, die tertio nonas Octobris.

John makes formal complaint against the chancellor.

Longchamp is summoned to a meeting on October 5 at Loddon Bridge.

Comes, cum maxima parte majorum regni omnium sibi faventium, per duos dies exspectaverat loco colloquii cancellarium, et tertio mane præmisit quosdam ex se sequentibus Londoniam, exspectans in loco colloquii adhuc si exspectatus ille aut auderet aut dig-

The chancellor fails to attend, and finally goes to London.

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[1] *consentientes*, P. and C.

[2] There is here in P. about half a page erased: opposite the word *Comes* in C. is a marginal note by the original scribe, "*Hic abrasum* "*erat quicquid illud esset*"—a sufficient proof that C. was copied from P.

[3] In C. *et ad* is written above *et conjurantur*, thus giving *et adjurantur* as an alternative reading.

[4] *ortum*, C., with *cer* above the first syllable.

A.D. 1191. naretur venire. Cancellarius, timens sibi de comite et suspectos habens judices, duos dies distulit ad locum venire; tertio (quia, ut cuique conscia mens est, ita concipit inter pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo,) inter spem et metum medius ad colloquium ire perrexit. Et ecce! vir sibi fidelis Henricus Biset, qui viderat transeuntes præmissos de familia comitis, "ad-"misso subdens creberrime calcar equo," venit obvius cancellario, fidem faciens quod comes ab antediem armatus ierat Londoniam capere; et quis esset eo die qui non ut Evangelium acciperet quicquid ille mentiri nescius diceret? Sed mentitus non est, quia verum putabat esse quod dixerat. Cancellarius, hac vice deceptus ut homo, omnem qui secum erat militem fecit armari continuo; et se æstimans e vestigio subsequi comitem præeuntem, prævenit eum in civitatem, Rogati cives ab eo, quia comes nondum aderat, ut venienti portas clauderent, respuerunt, eum turbatorem terræ nominantes et traditorem. Archiepiscopus enim Eboracensis, futurorum conscius, dum ibi per dies aliquot moram fecisset, ut videret finem negocii, assiduis querelis et precibus commoverat omnes in illum; qui tunc primo se proditum sentiens confugit in arcem, et Londonienses observabant a terra et mari, ne profugeret. Comes, cognita ejus fuga, cum copiis suis eum insequens receptus est ab obviis[1] civibus cum laternis et facibus, quia de nocte venit in urbem; nihilque defuit in salutationibus adulantis populi, nisi illud psittaci,[2] Chere Basileos,[3] hoc est, "Salve, care "domine!"

Ov. Art. Am. ii. 732.

Longchamp takes refuge in the Tower.

Pers. Prolog. 8.

A council held in St. Paul's.

Crastino comes et universi magnates regni convenerunt in ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, et audita est prima omnium querela Eboracensis archiepiscopi; post illam

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[1] P. and C. give *ouiis*, which is probably an error for *obviis*.

[2] *sithaci*, is the form in both MSS.

[3] *Chere Basileos*, P. C. in capitals. P. omits the words that follow.

A.D. 1191

New appointments are made to judicial, fiscal, and military offices.

admissus est quisquis habebat aliquid in eum. Summam et diligentem audientiam habuerunt accusatores absentis, et præcipue ille in verbis plurimus, Hugo Coventrensis episcopus, pridie familiarissimus ejus; qui, quia pessima pestis est familiaris inimicus, pejus omnibus et perversius in familiarem elocutus, non prius destitit donec diceretur ab omnibus, "Nolumus θθ. "hunc regnare super nos." Tota itaque concio sine ulla dilatione constituerunt Johannem comitem fratrem regis summum rectorem totius regni, et ut omnia castella quibus vellet custodienda traderet statuentes, tria tantum de minus valentibus, ab invicem plurimum distantia, nomine tenus jam cancellario reliquerunt. Justiciarius supremus post comitem, justiciarii errantes, custodes scaccarii, castrorum constabularii, omnes novi de novo instituuntur. Inter alios tunc receptores et episcopus Wintoniensis, quas sibi cancellarius tulerat, in integrum recepit custodias,[1] et dominus Dunelmensis recepit comitatum Norhhumbriæ.

The decision of the council is made known to Longchamp.

Dies ille nefastus declinabat ad vesperam, et quatuor[2] episcopi et totidem comites, ex parte concionis missi ad cancellarium, exposuerunt illi ad literam totius acta diei. Inhorruit ille ad inopinatam audaciam præsumptorum, et, deficiente spiritu, decidit in terram ita exsanguis, ut ex ore spumas emitteret. Injecta sibi aqua frigida in faciem, revixit, et erectus in pedes Virg. Æn., ii. 354. torvo nuncios perstrinxit lumine, dicens, "'Una salus "'victis nullam sperare salutem.' Vicistis et vinxistis "incautum. Si me Dominus Deus dominum meum[3] "regem inter duos oculos videre dederit, dies ista u. p. 429. "malo vobis illuxit, certi estote. Quantum in vobis "est, comiti jam dedistis quicquid regis erat in regno. "Dicite ei, vivit adhuc Priamus. Vos, qui vestri

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[1] The rest of the paragraph is an addition in dark ink by the same hand.

[2] Giraldus, in the *Vit. Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 405, states that these were the bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry (Lichfield).

[3] *meum*, om. C.

A.D. 1191.

He refuses to surrender his power.

“ viventis adhuc regis immemores, alterum vobis elegistis in dominum, dicite illi domino vestro quoniam totum ibit aliter quam existimat. Castella non dedam, sigillum non resignabo.” Regressi ab eo nuncii retulerunt comiti quod acceperant, qui præcepit arctius arcem obsideri.[1]

A municipal organisation granted to London.

at θθ.

Concessa[2] est ipsa die et instituta communia Londoniensium, in quam[3] universi regni magnates et ipsi etiam ipsius provinciæ episcopi jurare coguntur. Nunc primum in indulta sibi conjuratione regno regem deesse cognovit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus, nec prædecessor et pater ejus Henricus, pro mille millibus marcarum[4] argenti fieri permisisset. Quanta quippe mala ex conjuratione proveniant ex ipsa poterit diffinitione perpendi, quæ talis est,—communia est tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor sacerdotii.

λλ.

Juv., iv. 90.

Cancellarius ad majorem partem noctis,—quia qui non intendit animum studiis et rebus honestis invidia vel amore vigil torquebitur,—erat insomnis; et eum interim sui plus[5] torquebant quam conscientia, rogantes cum lacrimis, pedibus ejus provoluti, ut necessitati cederet, et ne contra torrentem brachia tenderet. Emollitur ille ferro durior ad gemituosa consilia circumflentium; iterum et iterum exanimatus præ tristitia ad ultimum vix adquievit fieri, quod omni destitutus auxilio facere cogebatur. Unus ex fratribus ejus et tres cum eo non ignobiles permissi, non missi, nunciaverunt ipsa hora noctis comiti cancellarium, quocumque non refert animo, quicquid provisum est pati et agere paratum. Tollat moras, quia “semper nocuit differre paratis.” In crastino fieret ne talis se ventus obverteret, ut differretur in annum. Rever-

Longchamp accepts the terms offered.

Lucan, i. 50.

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[1] Cf. Girald. *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 405.

[2] For the reasons for altering Mr. Stevenson's arrangement of the paragraphs at this point, see p. 429, note 5, Cf. Bened. Petrob., ii. 214, as to the *Communia*.

[3] *in quam*, P.C.

[4] *marcis*, P.C.

[5] P. interlines “ vel *non minus*.”

tuntur isti in arcem, et nota fecit ante diem ista fieri comes sibi consentientibus. A.D. 1191.

Virg. Æn., iv. 129. "Oceanum interea nascens Aurora reliquit," et comes cum tota cohorte sua exivit in planitiem, quæ est extra Londoniam ad orientem, orto jam sole; venit illuc et cancellarius, sed minus mane quam adversarii. Tenuerunt majores medium, circa quos proxima fuit corona Quiritum, et populus spectans erat deorsum, ut æstimabatur, ad decem millia hominum. Aggreditur cancellarium primus Coventrensis[1] episcopus, singulas accusationes diei præteritæ retractans, et de suo semper aliquid adjiciens. "Non est," inquit, "decens nec tolerabile, ut unius talis qualis ignavia "tot viros nobiles et honorabiles de tam remotis "partibus toties faciat convenire pro nihilo. Et quia "melius est semel dolere quam semper, brevibus "omnia claudam. Non placet, quia nec[2] expedit, ut "ulterius domineris in regno. Contentus eris epis-"copatu tuo, et tribus castellis,[3] quæ tibi indulsimus, "et magni nominis umbra. De reliquis omnibus cas-"tellis reddendis, et de non movenda porrecta aut "tumultibus fabricandis, dabis frumentarios obsides, "et liber abire postea poteris quaversus volueris." Multi super hæc multa dixerunt, nemo contra; solus dominus Wintoniensis, quamvis pluribus eloquentior esset, semper tacuit. Demum cancellarius, vix loqui permissus, ait, "'Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne "reponam?' Ante omnia noveritis singuli et universi "quod nullius rei reum me sentio, quare os alicujus "vestrum timere debeam. Archiepiscopum Eboraci "me nec sciente nec volente captum profiteor, id "civiliter si recipitis vel ecclesiastice probaturus. De "excidentiis regis et feminis donationis ejus si quid

John and Longchamp meet.

The controversy is begun by the bishop of Lichfield.

Quint. 12. 10. 15.

Juven., i. 1.

Longchamp's reply.

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[1] Hugh Nunant, bishop of Lichfield, often called in the chronicles bishop of Coventry.

[2] *nec*, P. C.

[3] Dover, Canterbury, Hereford.

A.D. 1191.

“ egerim, Gaufridus filius Petri, Willelmus Briwere,
“ Hugo Bardolfe, quos a rege[1] consiliarios habui, si
“ liceret eis loqui, pro me satisfacerent.[2] Cur, et in
“ quid, denarios regis exspenderim, præsto sum usque
“ ad ultimum quadrantem reddere rationem. Obsides
“ dare pro reddendis castellis, licet in hoc regi magis
“ timeam, quia cogit oportet, non diffugio. Nomen
“ quod non valetis auferre, nominatum adhuc habi-
“ turus, non vilipendo. In summa, sciendum omnibus
“ dico, quod de nulla administratione mihi a rege
“ tradita me depono. Circumvenistis unum plurimi,
“ fortiores me estis, et ego, cancellarius regis et regni
“ justiciarius, contra formam totius juris judicatus,
“ quia necesse est, fortioribus cedo.” Allegationibus partium fecit finem sol vergens in vesperum; recipiuntur in obsidium fratres duo cancellarii qui fuit, et quidam tertius, qui a secretis ei fuerat cubicularius. Solutum est concilium, redditis clavibus arcis Londoniæ, γγ. sexto idus Octobris.

The keys of the Tower are given up on October 10.

Longchamp goes to Dover: earl John appoints wardens over the surrendered castles.

Cancellarius Dovram, unum, scilicet, ex tribus, unde mentio facta est, castris, profectus est; et comes omnia munita terræ,[3] quibus voluit et plus credidit, sibi reddita liberavit. δδ.

Both parties appeal to the king.

Mittuntur continuo, et a damnato et a damnatoribus, nuncii ad ipsum regem in Terram Promissionis, at γγ. quique pro parte sua ad accusandum vel excusandum sufficienter instructi.

Longchamp's misfortunes.

Nominativo[4] hic cancellarius ex perditæ potestatis at δδ. et præsentis sui status recordatione confusus, inhibitionem transfretationis dum modis omnibus molitur eludere, non uniformiter nec semel tantum illusus est. Taceo, quod et in habitu monachi et in muliebri veste deprehensus fuerit et retentus,[5] quia multum et nimis

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[1] *quos a rege*, not in P.

[2] Only *sa* remains in C., the rest of the word is rubbed away.

[3] *terra*, P. C.

[4] This paragraph is in the margin of P., continuing the previous one.

[5] See Hugh of Nunant's letter given by Benedict, ii. 215–220. See also the *Vit.Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 410.

A.D. 1191.

est meminisse quam inæstimabilem supellectilem, quam multiplices gazas sibi, demum in Flandriam appulso, Flandrenses diripuerunt. Cujus transfretatione cognita, quicquid in Anglia reddituum possederat confiscatur. Fit dira inter duros[1] decertatio. Cancellarius sublatam sibi suspendit diœcesim, et pervasores ejus denotat et innodat anathemate. Nec fuit eo corde minor Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, qui, in ultionem illius præsumptæ excommunicationis in fiscarios, per Neustriam denunciari mandavit Willelmum de Longo Campo excommunicatum haberi. Nolebat tamen se videri metuere maledictionem latam in pervasores prædicti episcopatus, nec dignabatur credere sententiam profugi præsulis posse in solium suæ majestatis ascendere. Fuit igitur fœda facies Eliensis ecclesiæ, tacetur per totam diœcesim ab omni opere Domini, corpora mortuorum per omnes vicos inhumata jaciuntur. In Neustria, vice reddita, nemo ex archiepiscopalibus communicabat cancellario, in ingressu ejus omnis ecclesia suspenditur et egressu omnia signa pulsantur, et altaria ubi celebravit dejiciuntur.

al ee. Duo legati[2] a latere summi Pontificis directi in Galliam, instinctu, ut fertur, regis Francorum sed occulto, venere Gisortium visitaturi Normanniam, quam regni Francorum partem præcipuam fuisse didicerant; quos, quia castri constabularius et senescallus Neustriæ non admiserunt, hac se rationis umbra tuentes, quod non, nisi favente fundi domino vel præsente, debeat cujusquam provinciæ fieri visitatio; hoc specialiter privilegio omnes reges Anglorum et Ricardum præcipue ab Apostolica sede donatos. Nihil egit apud legatos vera vel verisimilis allegatio; crevit et intumuit, sed contra intimidos, "Diis æqua potestas." Juven., iv. 71.

Two legates attempting to enter Normandy are forced to turn back.

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[1] *duros*, P. C.

[2] Octavian bishop of Ostia, and Jordan abbot of Fossa Nova, according to Mr. Stevenson.

A.D. 1191.

at ζζ.

Hor. A. P., 97.

Contempta recolitur Romanæ majestatis auctoritas; projiciunt "ampullas et sesquipedalia verba." Multam in resistentes multa acerbitate minantur, et tamen quia non habebant placitare cum pueris, clausis contra eos castri foribus, steterunt de foris. Sed non defuit suum repulsis solatium. Quo non poterant personaliter accedere, processerunt potentialiter. Castellanum Gisortii et senescallum Neustriæ præsentes excommunicaverunt ex nomine, et universam Neustriam ab universo ritus ecclesiastici suspenderunt[1] ministerio. Oportuit deferri potentiæ; siluit ecclesia continuo et continue per trium septimanarum spatium, donec, invocato summo Pontifice, remissa fuit et in nominatos sententia et in Neustriam lata suspensio. Redditus est liber libertatis Neustriæ et vox lætitiæ, et legatis inhibitum est portare pedes in Neustriam.

The monks of Westminster choose an abbot, passing over the chancellor's brother.

Westmonasterienses monachi, qui ante dies istos tam magni cordis exstiterant, ut pro mori sua facta non inficerent, ex quo viderunt tempus alterum et ipsi alterati cum tempore, quicquid cum cancellario de fratre suo pepigerant retro dorsum ponentes, priorem domus suæ in abbatem conniventia comitis elegerunt, qui et benedictionem et baculum sine dilatione percepit ab episcopo Londonensi.

Frater cancellarii,[2] qui de condicto debuerat eligi in abbatem, videns conventum contra sua pacta venire, confusus cum suo curto pudore recessit; cartam tamen cautionis secum deferens, appellatione ante secundam electionem facta coram legitimis testibus, ne quid contra cautam sibi fieret promotionem.

The monks of Michelney eject their abbot.

Monachi de Mucheleneia,[3] quem vi susceperant, suum nescio quem, nec electum nec abbatem, exemplo Westmonasteriensium, non tamen[4] a simili, ejecerunt de domo sua; stramenta lecti ejus post illum projicientes,

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[1] The rest as far as *pedes in Neustriam*, is lost from P. by the cutting of the margin.

[2] Henry Longchamp. See as to him the *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 407.

[3] See p. 411.

[4] *tamen*, in both MSS.

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et conviciatum cum contumeliis extra insulam quatuor ventis exposuerunt.

The Archbishop of Rouen having been made justiciary by John, convokes an assembly at Canterbury to elect an archbishop.

Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis constitutus a comite justiciarius regni et supremus super negotia, convocato Cantuariam clero et populo, de eligendo archipontifice,[1] sicut rex ipse sibi injunxerat, agere instituit. Londonensis autem et Wintoniensis episcopi non affuerunt, regis detenti negotiis apud Londoniam; factaque inter episcopos, qui convenerant, quæstione, quis eorum videretur esse major, cujus esse deberet electio, ex quo duo prædicti primæ dignitatis aberant, prior Cantuariensis, nodum difficultatis absolvens, omnes fecit æquales in eligendo pontifice, procedens in publicum cum monachis suis, et in facie totius ecclesiæ eligens in archiepiscopum de medio cleri Reginaldum episcopum Batoniæ.

The archbishop elect endeavours to procure the election of Savaric as his successor in the see of Bath, but falls ill, and dies on Dec. 26.

Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus Romam, si Parcæ parcerent, pro pallio profecturus, expletis apud Cantuariam sollennitatibus, quæ fieri solent circa electos, venit disponere Bathoniensi ecclesiæ,[2] quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus. Fertur etiam quod de eligendo et sibi subrogando Savarico, Norhhamptonæ archidiacono, prioris et conventus impetrarit assensum et perceperit cautionem. Unde revertens ægrotavit in itinere, et accubuit æger nimis apud manerium suum de Dokemeresfeld; quique videns sibi nihil vicinius esse quam mortem, suscepit habitum monachi per manus Walteri prioris sui, tunc secum morantis, et accipiens hæc locutus est, "Deus noluit "me esse archiepiscopum, et ego nolo; Deus voluit "me esse monachum, et ego volo." Literas[3] etiam regis ad justiciarios de concessa Savarico diœcesi ad quamcumque foret electus canonice attulit[4] in extremis agens, dedit priori Batoniæ, ut hujus auctoritate

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[1] *archipræsule*, C.

[2] Thus in MSS.

[3] *Literas—promoveretur*, marked to this place, but written in P. in the space left by the short lines of the epitaph.

[4] *attulit*, C.; a space in P.

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instrumenti citius promoveretur. Omnibus deinde, εε. quæ ad fidem spectant et pœnitentiam, devote et sana mente peractis, quievit in Domino septimo kalendas Januarii.

Epitaphium.

Epitaph on Reginald, archbishop elect of Canterbury.

Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat;
Nemo plus quærat; quicquid docuit faciebat.
Sancti Swithuni nisi pratum præripuisset,
Hunc de communi mors tam cito non rapuisset.
Sed, quia pœnituit, minuit mors passa reatum;
Fecit quod potuit, se dedidit ad monachatum,

The monks of Bath elect Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, as bishop.

Walterus prior Bathoniæ et suus sine clero conventus elegerunt sibi in futurum episcopum Savaricum, archidiaconum Norhhamptoniæ, absentem et adhuc casum cognati pontificis ignorantem; et licet clerus ζζ. reniteretur obtinuerunt.

The Crusade: The divisions and order of sailing of king Richard's fleet.

Classis[1] Ricardi regis Anglorum altum legebat, et *at ηη.* hoc ordine procedebat. In prima fronte ibant tres p. 406. naves tantum in quarum una erat regina Siciliæ et puella Navarorum, forte adhuc virgo; in duabus, aliqua pars thesauri regis et armorum; in singulis trium, homines defensabiles et victualia. In secundo ordine erant inter naves et buceas et dromundos, tredecim; in tertio, quatuordecim; in quarto, viginti; in quinto, triginta; in sexto, quadraginta; in septimo, sexaginta; in novissimo rex ipse cum galeis suis sequebatur. Erat inter naves et processiones earum tali discretione indictum[2] nautis spatium, quod de uno ordine ad alterum vox tubæ, de una navi ad alteram vox hominis, audiri potuit. Illud etiam fuit admirabile quod rex non minus sanus et incolumis, fortis et potens, levis et exsiliens, erat in mari quam solebat

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[1] This passage, as far as *dignatus adire* (p. 430), is in the margin of the MSS. See note 5 on p. 406.

[2] *indictum*, both MSS.

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esse in terris. Concludo ergo quod non erat unus homo validior illo in mundo, nec in terra, nec in mari.

Two of the leading ships are wrecked on the coast of Cyprus.

Prædicto itaque modo et ordine, navibus aliis alias præeuntibus, duæ de tribus primis, vi ventorum impulsæ, cautibus juxta portum Cypri contritæ sunt; tertia, quæ Anglica erat, agilior illis retorta in altum, diffugit periculum. Omnes fere homines utriusque navis vivi evaserunt ad terram, de quibus multos interfecerunt occurrentes Cyprii, quosdam ceperunt, quidam refugientes in quandam ecclesiam obsessi fuerunt. Quicquid etiam in navibus fuerat de mari erutum cessit in prædam Cypriorum. Princeps quoque insulæ illius adveniens in partem suam recepit aurum et arma, et fecit ab omni, quem convocare potuit, armato observari litus, ut classem sequentem applicare non sineret, ne rex sibi surrepta reciperet. Supra portum erat urbs fortis et super rupem nativam castellum eminens et munitum. Tota gens illa bellicosa et de rapto vivere consueta. Ponebantur in introitu portus per transversum trabes et tigna, portæ et ostia; et tota terra, toto animo, contra Anglos se præparavit ad pugnam. Voluit Deus ut populus maledictus malorum meritum per manus non miserentis acciperet. Tertia navis Anglica, in qua erant feminæ, ejectis ancoris, in alto exspectabat et omnia considerabat e contra relatura casum regi, ne forte damni nescius et dedecoris, locum præteriret inultus. Venit navium regis ordo post alterum, et substiterunt omnes ad primam. Rumor refusus pervenit ad regem, qui, missis nunciis ad dominum insulæ,[1] nihil voluntatis adeptus, mandavit universum exercitum armari a primo usque ad ultimum, et de magnis navibus egressos in galeis et scaphis sequi illum ad litus. Fit quod jubetur citissime, venitur in armis ad portum.

Ill-treatment of the crews.

Richard sends messengers to the emperor.

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[1] Isaac Comnenus.

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Richard lands with his forces.

Rex armatus, primus de galea exsiliens, primum ictum dedit in bello; sed, antequam posset dare secundum, tria millia suorum habebat in latere secum percutientium. Dejicitur in momento quicquid lignorum oppositum fuerat in portu, et ascendunt viri fortes in urbem non mitiores quam solent esse leænæ, raptis fœtibus. Pugnatur contra illos viriliter, et ceciderunt vulnerati ex his et ex[1] illis, et inebriabantur gladii utrorumque in sanguine. Vincuntur Cyprii, capta est urbs, et cum castello, diripitur quicquid placet victoribus, et ipse dominus insulæ comprehensus est[2] et adductus ad regem. Precatur veniam[3] et meretur, offert homagium regi et recipitur, et jurat non rogatus quod amodo de illo, sicut[4] ligio domino, tenebit insulam, et omnia castella terræ sibi aperiet et exponet, damnum restituet, et de proprio largietur. Dimissus post juramentum jubetur in mane pacta complere.

The king is captured, but is freed on promising restitution.

Nocte illa rex quievit in castro; et juratus ejus fugiens secessit in aliud castellum, et summoniri fecit omnem hominem terræ, qui poterant arma portare, ut convenirent ad eum, et ita factum est. Rex autem Hierusalem eadem nocte applicuit in Cyprum, ut occurreret regi et salutaret eum, cujus adventum plus quam omnium hominum totius mundi desideraverat. In crastino quæsitus ille dominus Cyprii, compertus[5] est effugisse. Rex, videns se esse illusum, et ubi esset edoctus, præcepit regi Hierosolimorum sequi perfidum per terram cum media parte exercitus, ipse alteram partem circumduxit per aquam, volens esse in obviam, ne elaberetur per mare. Convenerunt partes circa oppidum in quod fugerat, et ille contra regem egressus commisit cum Anglis, et pugnatum

Arrival of the king of Jerusalem.

The emperor of Cyprus is found to have fled.

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[1] *ex*, om. C.

[2] In C. "vel *comprehensus est*" is interlined above *insulæ captus est.*

[3] P. and C. omit *comprehensus* here.

[4] *sicut de ligio*, C.

[5] *quæsitus est ille . . . et compertus*, C.

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est acriter ab utrisque partibus. Victi fuissent Angli in illa die, nisi sub[1] Ricardo pugnassent. Potiuntur tandem victoria caro mercata, fugit Cyprius et captum est castrum. Insequuntur illum reges sicut prius, unus per terram, alter per aquam, et obsessus est in tertio castello. Dejiciuntur muri[2] fundibalariis[3] ingentia saxa rotantibus, promittit deditionem oppressus, si tantummodo in vincula ferrea non poneretur. Annuit rex precibus supplicantis, et fecit ei fieri argenteos compedes. Capto itaque piratarum principe, rex peragravit totam insulam et cepit omnia castella ejus, et posuit custodes suos in singulis, et constituit justiciarios et vicecomites, et subdita est illi tota terra in omnibus, sicut Anglia.

After another battle the king is besieged, but surrenders.

He is put into silver fetters.

Aurum, et sericum, et gemmas de thesauris effractas[4] sibi retinuit; argentum et victualia dedit exercitui. Regi quoque Hierusalem de acquisito suo largitus est largissime.

Et quia jam transierat Quadragesima, et legitimum contrahendi tempus advenerat, Berengariam filiam regis Navarorum, quam ad se in Quadragesima mater adduxerat, sibi despondi fecit in insula. Repetitis post ista navibus, versus Accaronem feliciter navigans, offendit navem onerariam maximæ magnitudinis a Saladino ad obsessos directam, victualibus et armato milite plenam: navem mirabilem, navem, qua præter navem Noæ, non legitur major ulla fuisse. Lætatus est[5] hic vir validus, quia ubique materiam virtutis offendit, primus ipse pugnatorum, accitis ad suam galeis suorum, navale prœlium cœpit habere cum Turcis. Navis fuit munita turribus et propugnaculis, et pugnabant vecorditer desperati, quia est "una salus "victis nullam sperare salutem." Dirus erat assultus et dura defensio; sed quid adeo durum, quod non domaverit durus ille durandus? Devincuntur Moco-

Richard marries Berengère.

The voyage is resumed.

A Saracen dromond is met and sunk.

Virg. Æn. ii. 354.

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[1] *sub rege Ricardo*, C.
[2] *muri illius*, C.
[3] *fundis balearibus*, P. C.
[4] *effractas*, C.; *effractis*, P.
[5] *est*, C.; *et*, P.

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micolæ, navis illa, regina navium, detrita demergitur quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus, et periit cum possessoribus suis tota possessio.

Richard reaches Acre.

Rex inde progrediens venit ad Accaronis obsidionem, et exceptus est ab obsidentibus cum gaudio tanto, ac si esset Christus, qui revenisset in terram restituere regnum Israel.

Rex Francorum prævenerat ad Accaronem, et magni habitus est ab indigenis; sed, superveniente Ricardo, ita delituit et sine nomine factus est, ut solet ad solis ortum suum luna lumen amittere.

Richard's profuse liberality.

Venit ad regem suum Henricus[1] comes Campaniæ, cui jam deficiebat quicquid advexerat victus aut pretii. Postulat subventionem, cui rex suus et dominus facit offerri centum millia Parisiacensium,[2] si tamen sibi velit oppignerare Campaniam. Ad hæc comes, "Feci," inquit, "quod debui,[3] nunc faciam quod cogit "oportet; meo regi militare volebam, sed me non "recepit, nisi pro meo. Vado ad eum qui me recipiet, "qui paratior est ad dare, quam ad accipere." Rex Anglorum Ricardus venienti ad eum Henrico[1] comiti Campaniæ dedit quatuor millia modios tritici, quatuor millia bacones, et quatuor millia libras[4] argenti. Totus igitur exercitus alienigenarum, qui ex omni natione, quæ sub cœlo est, nominis Christiani, jam pridem et ante regum adventum convenerat ad obsidionem, ad tantæ famam donationis Ricardum regem in ducem recepit et dominum; soli, qui dominum suum secuti fuerant, Franci resederunt cum suo paupere rege Francorum.

Richard causes "castle Mategrif-

Rex Anglorum, moræ nescius, tertia die sui adventus in obsidionem construi[5] fecit et erigi castellum suum ligneum, quod in Sicilia factum, "Mate Grifun" nomi-fun" to be put together again.

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[1] *H.*, in C., in both places.

[2] *C. mª Parisiacensium* is the reading of C.; P. reads *offerri C. marcas Parisiacensium.*

[3] C. reads *potui*, but interlines "vel *debui*" above *quod potui.*

[4] *modios, bacones, libras,* thus in MSS.

[5] *construi*, P.; *exstrui*, C.

naverat; et ante lucanum diei quartæ stetit machina juxta muros Accaronis, quæ sua proceritate sub se positam despiciebat civitatem; erantque desuper sagittarii, jam orto sole, sine cessatione in Turcos et Thracos mittentes missilia. Petrariæ etiam per competentia loca locatæ crebris jactibus mœnia diruebant. His graviores viri talponarii sub terra sibi viam aperientes, murorum fundamenta subfodiebant; sed et, scalis appositis, per propugnacula scutarii scrutabantur[1] ingressum. Discurrebat rex ipse per cuneos, hos instruens, hos arguens, hos instimulans, et sic aderat ubique per singulos, ut sibi singulariter deberet ascribi quicquid singuli faciebant.

His energetic measures.

Rex Francorum etiam ipse non segniter egit, qui et apud turrem urbis, quæ Maledicta dicitur, suum qualem potuit fecit[2] assultum.

The garrison of Acre arrange terms of surrender.

Præerant tunc temporis obsessæ civitati viri illustres, Carracois et Mestocus, post Salahadinum principes gentilium potentissimi, qui post certamen dierum plurium, cum per interpretes deditionem urbis promitterent, et capitum redemptionem, rex Anglorum volebat viribus vincere desperatos, volebat et victos pro redemptione corporum capita solvere; sed, agente rege Francorum, indulta est eis tantum vita cum indemnitate membrorum, si, post deditionem civitatis et dationem omnium, quæ possidebant, Crux Dominica redderetur.

The prisoners and the spoil are divided.

Erant omnes in Accarone gentiles pugnatores lectissimi, et erant numero novem millia. Quorum plurimi plurimos aureos deglutientes de ventre faciebant marsupium, quia præscierant quod quicquid apud quemlibet cujuslibet pretii foret offensum, sibi si reniteretur in crucem, et victoribus cederet in rapinam. Egressi igitur universi coram regibus, penitus inermes et extra cutem[3] sine pecunia, traduntur in custodias; et reges cum signis triumphalibus urbem

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[1] *scrutabantur*, P. C.

[2] *faciebat*, P.; *fecit*. C.

[3] *cutem*, P. C. They had swallowed their gold.

A.D. 1191. ingressi, totam sibi et suis dimidio partiti sunt cum supellectili, solam sedem pontificalem ex communi dono suus recepit episcopus. Captivis insuper dimidiatis, Mestocus in sortem regis Anglorum sorte devectus est,[1] et Carracois, ut aquæ stilla frigidæ, cecidit in os æstuans sitientis Philippi regis Francorum.

The duke of Austria is insulted by Richard.

Dux Austriæ, et ipse unus ex veteribus obsessoribus Accaronis, regem Anglorum secutus a pari in suæ sortis possessionem; quia, prolato[2] coram se vexillo, visus fuit sibi partem vindicare triumphi; et, si non de præcepto, de voluntate tamen, regis offensi, dejectum est vexillum ducis in cœnum, et in ejus contumeliam a derisoribus deculcatum.[3] Dux, in regem licet atrociter ardens, quam[4] vindicare non potuit, dissimulavit injuriam; et regressus in suæ locum obsidionis in refixam se recepit ea nocte papilionem, et post, quam citissime potuit, plenus rancoris renavigavit ad propria.

The massacre of half of the garrison of Acre.

Missis ex parte captivorum ad Salahadinum nunciis pro sui redemptione, cum in redhibitionem sanctæ Crucis nulla posset ethnicus supplicatione deflecti, rex Anglorum, uno tantum Mestoco, quia fuit illustris, ad vitam vendito, omnes suos decapitavit, et erga ipsum Salahadinum se idem voluntatis habere sine palpatione renunciavit.[5]

The marquis of Montferrat is promised the kingdom of Jerusalem by the French monarch.

Marchisius quidam de Monte Ferrato, vir leviannigena ab anteactis jam annis occupatam Tyrum possederat, cui rex Francorum omnes suos captivos vivos vendidit, et nondum partæ regionis diadema promisit; sed in hoc casu restitit ei rex Anglorum in faciem. "Non decet," inquit, "tui nominis hominem nondum "parta largiri vel promittere, sed et si tuæ peregri-

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[1] The remaining words of the paragraph are cut away by the binder of P.

[2] *prolato*, P.; *prælato*, C.

[3] *conculcatum*, C.

[4] *quam*, P. C.

[5] A truer account of the circumstances of this massacre appears in W. of Newburgh, i. 356 and 359, and Benedict, ii. 189.

"nationis Christus in causa est, cum regionis hujus "caput urbium de manu hostili, Hierosolymam, novissime[1] tuleris, Widoni Hierosolymorum regi legitimo "regnum sine dilatione seu conditione restitues. Ceterum, si recorderis, Accaronem non obtinuisti sine "participe; unde nec quod duarum est debet manus "una partiri. Ho, hoh, pro gutture Dei!" Marchisius, felicis spei vacuus, Tyrum revertitur, et rex Francorum, qui per marchisium contra invidiosum suum se geminare gestierat, decrevit in dies, et id ei accessit ad juge cauterium conscientiæ, quod et lixa regis Anglorum splendidius viveret, quam pincerna Francorum. Post dies aliquot confictæ[2] sunt in cubiculo regis Francorum literæ, quibus, velut a magnatibus suis ex Francia missis, rex revocaretur in Franciam. Causa supponitur, quæ plus debeat quam[3] justa videri; unigenitum suum post diutinam valitudinem jam desperatum[4] a medicis, Franciam desolandam si, perdito pignore, pater—quod contigere poterat—periret in terra aliena. Habito igitur super his inter reges crebro colloquio, cum esset uterque magnus et non possent habitare communiter, Abraham remanente, recessit ab eo Loth. Præstitit etiam rex Francorum per primates suos regi Anglorum juratoriam cautionem pro sibi et suis qualibet indemnitate servanda, donec in regnum suum reverteretur in pace.[5]

A.D. 1191.

Richard declines to accede.

The king of France thinks of returning.

at u. p. 415.

Rex Francorum, cum paucis renavigans[6] ab Accarone, robur sui exercitus ad nihil agendum reliquit in loco, cui duces dedit Belvacensem episcopum et ducem Burgundiæ.

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[1] *novissimo*, P.; *novissime*, C.

[2] *contractæ*, C.

[3] The rest, as far as *reverteretur in pace*, has been cut from the margin of P.

[4] *desperatam*, C.

[5] The passage as to the *communia* granted to London, which Mr. Stevenson places after this paragraph, has been printed on p. 416, in order to keep it in collocation with the passage opposite which it is written. The words "concessa "est *ipsa die*" with which it opens have no meaning here, but they refer clearly to the *Dies ille nefastus* (see p. 415) opposite which they occur in the MS.

[6] With "vel *repatrians*" written above, P.; *repatrians*, C.

A.D. 1191.

Dissensions among the crusaders.

at λλ. p. 415.

Rex Angliæ, vocatis ad se Francorum ducibus, in primis ipsam Hierosolymam statuit communiter expetendam; sed dissuasio[1] Francorum corda utriusque infregit et infrigidavit exercitus, et regem milite destitutum a proposita metropolis pervasione retinuit. Rex ad ista turbatus,[2] sed non desperatus, jam ab illo die suum a Francis secrevit exercitum, et ad expugnanda castra circa maris oram brachia porrigens, quicquid sibi munitionis obstitit a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem, post dira bella et alta vulnera tamen, obtinuit. Tyrum vero, quia de suæ partis parto non erat, non est dignatus adire.

A.D. 1192.

Millesimo[3] centesimo nonagesimo secundo.

Return of the king of France.

κκ.

Philippus rex Francorum, relicto sodali suo Ricardo rege Anglorum in terra Hierosolymitana inter inimicos crucis Christi, nec copia sanctæ Crucis habita nec Sepulcri, reversus est in Franciam.

Godfrey bishop of Winchester makes restitution to the monks, Jan. 28.

μμ.

Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus restituit ecclesiæ suæ magnam partem thesauri, quem,[4] ut præmissum est, appruntaverat,[5] quinto kalendas Februarii.

Queen Eleanor lands in England, Feb. 11.

Regina Alienor de Neustria transfretavit in Angliam, et appulit[6] apud Portesmue tertio idus Februarii.[7]

Septuagesima Sunday coincides with the Feast of the Purification.

at μμ.

Festivitas Purificationis sanctæ[8] Mariæ celebrata est in ipsa Dominica Septuagesimæ apud Wintoniam. Dominica vero nihil dominicum habuit præter memoriam ad vesperas et matutinas et missam matutinam.[9]

The [prior ?] of St. Swithun grants a lease of

Una plena hidata terræ apud mansam, quæ dicitur Morstede, de villanagio de Ciltecumba, tradita est cuidam civi Wintoniæ, nomine Pentecuste, tenenda

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[1] P. reads *dissuasione.*

[2] Corrected from *ad hæc indignatus*, P.

[3] *Anno millesimo*, C.

[4] *quem*, P. C.

[5] *appruntaverat*, P. C. The bishop's borrowing is noticed on p. 388.

[6] *appulit*, P. C.

[7] Placed here in P.

[8] *beatæ*, C.

[9] *matutinos* (sic) — *matutinam*, P.; *matutinas—matutinalem*, C.

A.D. 1192.

lands without the knowledge of the convent.

viginti annis pro annuo et libero servitio viginti solidorum sine conventus conniventia.[1]

Longchamp goes to the French king.

at κκ. Cancellarius adiit regem Francorum, et de sublatis sibi in Flandria facultatibus deposuit coram ipso querelam, sed nihil ibi amplius habuit, "quam quod ridiculos homines fecit."[2] Juven., iii. 153.

Military preparations in France.

ξξ. Rex Francorum totis diebus et noctibus fabricari fecit omne genus armorum per universum regnum suum, et civitates et castra munivit, ut putabatur, in νν. præparationem pugnæ adversus regem Anglorum, si de peregrinatione reverteretur. Quibus in terris Anglorum regis cognitis, constabularii ejus in Normannia, et Cinomannia, et Andegavia, et Turonia, et Biturica, et Pictavia, et Vasconia, etiam ipsi quicquid locorum muniri poterat omnibus modis munierunt. Sed et filius regis Navarorum in irritationem Francorum provinciam circa Tolosam depopulatus est.

Richard's constables take corresponding precautions.

Forays about Toulouse.

A French castle in course of erection is demolished.

Quidam præpositus regis Francorum, volens major fieri patribus suis, in confinio Neustriæ et Franciæ, ubi nunquam munitio fuerat, castellum exstruxit: quod, mox dum ædificabatur, Normanni in impetu naturalis furoris sui a fundamentis eruerunt, et ipsum præfectum frustatim laniaverunt.

Queen Eleanor, touched by the misery of the diocese of Ely, arranges the removal of the excommunication.

at ξξ. Matrona merito memoranda multotiens, regina Alienor, appendentia quædam suæ doti tuguria infra Eliensem diœcesim visitavit. Cui venerunt obviam ex omnibus vicis et villulis, quacunque transibat, viri cum mulieribus et parvulis non omnes extremæ conditionis, populus lacrimans et lacrimabilis, nudi pedes, illoti vestes, inculti capillos. Loquuntur lacrimis, quibus præ dolore verba defecerant, nec erat opus interprete, cum plus quam volebant dicere patenti pagina legeretur. Humana corpora passim per agros inhumata jacebant, quia sustulerat eis suus episcopus

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[1] *una plena — conniventia*, om. C. This paragraph is in the body of P.

[2] *fecit*, P.; *facit*, C.

A.D. 1192.

sepulturam. Regina tantæ causam severitatis intelligens, ut erat multum misericors, vivorum in mortuis miserata miseriam, mox relinquens propria et aliena negotia curans, ivit Londoniam, egit, immo exegit, ab archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, ut confiscata episcopi prædia episcopo redderentur, et idem episcopus nomine cancellariæ per provinciam Rothomagensem a denunciata in eum clamaretur excommunicatione solutus. Et quis esset tam ferus aut ferreus, quem in sua vota femina illa non flecteret? Nunciavit etiam nihil oblita in Neustriam domino Eliensi impetratam sibi suæ reipublicæ et familiaris restitutionem[1] in Anglia, et coegit eum, quam in fiscarios tulerat, sententiam revocare. Quievit itaque inter inquietos, mediante regina, manifesta vexatio, sed, nisi utriusque cor creperet, ex veteri contractus odio mentis habitus mutari non potuit.

Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 19.

John is dissuaded by his mother from a projected journey to France.

Comes Johannes, missis nunciis ad Portum Hamonis, mandavit præsto parari sibi navigium, ut putabatur, ad regem Francorum defecturus; sed regina, mater ejus, metuens ne levis animi adolescens consiliis Francorum aliquid molitum iret in dominum suum et fratrem, anxia mente pertractat qua posset arte filii propositum præpedire.[2] Movebat nimirum et mordebat materna viscera in mentem reducta priorum filiorum conditio, et immaturus, peccatis exigentibus, utriusque decessus. Volebat vim[3] satisfacere, ut saltem inter novissimos liberorum fide servata, felicius mater in fata concederet, quam patrem illorum contigit præcessisse.[4] Convocatis itaque universis majoribus regni, primo apud Windlesoram, secundo apud Oxoniam, tertio apud Londoniam, quarto apud Wintoniam, vix propriis lacrimis et magnatum precibus potuit obtinere, ut

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[1] The remainder of the paragraph has been cut away from P.

[2] *impedire*, C.

[3] Thus in both MSS.

[4] *processisse*, with "vel *præ*" interlined above, C.

A.D. 1192.

John gets two castles into his power.

non transfretaret ad tempus. Comes igitur propositæ profectionis frustratus effectu, fecit istac quod potuit, et a constabulariis regis de Windlesora[1] et Walingeford, ad se secreto vocatis, castella suscepit, et recepta suis juratis sibi custodienda delegavit.

The bishops and others meet to put a check on John's doings.

Mandato Rothomagensis archiepiscopi convenerunt columnæ ecclesiæ, legum librarii, apud Londoniam, inter regni negotia, ut sæpius, de aliquo aut[2] nihilo locuturi. Omnium erat una voluntas convenire comitem Johannem de præsumptione castellorum; sed, quia se singuli sibi invicem non credebant, quisquis sibi, quia alterum metuens, vicario potius quam proprio volebat ore proferri quæstionem. Ad hoc igitur omnibus et hoc animo verba ventilantibus, Æacus unus abest, ad quem simul universi convenerant conveniendum; sed et dum inter agendum de olim cancellario casualiter tractaretur, ecce! iterum Crispinus adest. Ingrediuntur auditorium nuncii cancellarii, jam iterum legati, salutantes reginam, quæ præsens aderat, et reliquos universos, quos simul forte offenderant,[3] ex parte domini sui in Angliam pridie apud Dovram appulsi feliciter. Ipsum fore ministerium legationis suæ exsecuturum novissima mandatorum clausa disclusit.[4] Diu "conticuere omnes, intentique "ora tenebant" nimis attoniti. Tandem in vota venit omnium, ut ipsum suppliciter advocarent in dictatorem et dominum, quem judicare venerant ut perjurum et transgressorem in dominum. Ad comitem itaque, tunc morantem apud Walingeford et ridentem illorum conventicula, mittuntur multi ex magnatibus et multociens, quorum fuit unus Echion. Humiliter et sine ruga rogant ut festinet "occursare

Juven., iv. 1.

The meeting is disturbed by messengers from Longchamp, who has landed.

Virg. Æn., ii. 1.

Abandoning their first intention the bishops send to John for help.

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[1] *Windelesora*, C. here and above.

[2] *aut de nihilo*, C.

[3] In C. the text overflows to the margin at this point, but there are connecting marks. There are none in the case of the numerous marginal passages already dealt with.

[4] *exclusit*, C., with "vel *dis*" [clusit] interlined.

A.D. 1192.

"capro." "Domine," inquiunt, "cornu ferit ille, "caveto!"[1] Virg. Ecl., ix. 25.

John at last goes to London.

Comes non multum motus diu se reverenter rogari sustinuit, tandemque delato sibi satiatus honore, cum novissimis precatoribus, quos plus dilexerat, venit Londoniam; respondere ad omne quare, si quæri contigerit, sufficienter instructus. Assurgit et blanditur curia venienti, ætatis et ordinis ordine non servato, dum quicunque[2] prius potest, prior occurrit[3] et se cupit ante videri, volens placere principi, quia "principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est." Hor. Ep., i. 17, 35. Consedere duces. De castris nulla fit mentio; de cancellario tota fuit querela et consultatio. Si comes consulat, omnes eum proscribere sunt parati. Comitem in consensum modis omnibus emollire satagunt, "at illis dextra jacebat bellua." Juven., iv. 120. Comes respondere rogatus breviter infit, "Cancellarius iste nullius vestrum, nec simul "omnium, minas metuet nec mendicabit amorem, si "me saltem solum mereatur habere propitium. Septingentas libras argenti mihi daturus est infra diem "septimum, si inter vos et illum me non immersero. Vos videtis quod denariis egeam. Sapientibus "satis dictum est." Dixerat, et secessit, relicta in medio suæ propositionis conclusione. Arctavit in arcto posita curia consilium, sanum videtur singulis palpare virum plus quam pollicitis, dare placet vel commodare pecuniam, sed non de proprio, tandemque totum ergo cadit in absentis ærarium. Creduntur comiti de fisco per fiscarios quingentæ libræ[4] sterlingorum, et recipiuntur ad placitum literæ in cancellarium. Nec dilatio; scribit regina, scribit clerus, scribit populus; omnes unanimiter mandant cancellario pro salute, ut saltum faciat, ut sine mora

He intimates that the chancellor has offered him a bribe.

A counter-bribe is offered to him.

Longchamp is ordered to leave once more.

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[1] The last passage (except a correction) which is written in the margin of the Cottonian MS. The Cambridge MS. has much more in the margin, as will be shown.

[2] *quicunque*, P.; *quisque qui*, C.

[3] *occurrat*, C.

[4] C. has *libræ argenti sterlingorum.*

mare transeat, nisi pruriat audire rumores, nisi velit A.D. 1192.
convivari[1] scutariis.

Cancellarius ad mandatorum inclementiam hæsit
Juven., i. 43. exsanguis, et sic palluit "ut nudis qui pressit calcibus
" anguem." Recedens vero hoc solum virile respondisse
refertur, "Noverint omnes, qui me persequuntur, quan-
" tum videbunt quem pupugerunt. Non omni, ut
" æstimant, sum destitutus solatio.[2] Est mihi pur-
Hor. Ep., i. 1, 7. " gatam crebro qui personet[3] aurem scriptis veraci-
" bus. 'Quamdiu peregrinus sum,' inquit, 'patienter
Ov. Fast., i. 493. " 'porta, quæ pateris. Omnis terra forti patria est,
" 'experto crede, durato,[4] et rebus animum servato
Virg. Æn., i. 207. " 'secundis. Mecum tibi grata superveniet, quæ[5]
Hor. Ep., i. 4, 14. " 'non sperabitur, hora. Insperatus adveniam et
" 'triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in inter-
Lucan, i. 279. " 'dicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo
" 'mea te faciet victoria civem; forsan et hoc olim
Virg. Æn., i. 203. " 'meminisse juvabit.'"

Quia Wintonia non debuit debita sibi mercede Alleged martyrdom of a christian boy by the Jews of Winchester.
at oo. privari pro servata, ut in capite libri præpositum est,
pace Judæis, Wintonienses Judæi civitatis suæ, Judaico
more, studentes honori, etsi factum forte defuerit,
plurimis facti indiciis celebrem sibi famam de mar-
tyrizato a se in Wintonia puero confecerunt. Casus
erat hujusmodi. Puerum quendam Christianum,[6] artis
sutoriæ sciolum, Judæus quidam in familiare familiæ
suæ consciverat ministerium. Non ibi continuum re-
sidebat ad opus, nec magnum aliquid semel sinebatur
explere, ne provisam sibi cædem probaret cohabitatio;
et, ut, pro modico labore melius ibi quam pro multo
alibi remuneratus, domum dæmonis, donis ejus et dolis
illectus, libentius frequentaret. Fuerat autem Francus The boy of French origin.
genere, pupillus et orphanus, abjectæ conditionis

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[1] *conviari*, P. C.

[2] *consilio*, C., with "vel *solatio*" interlined.

[3] *personat*, C., wrongly.

[4] Should be *durate—servate*.

[5] P. reads *dum non*.

[6] *Christianum*, om. C.

A.D. 1192.

He was sent over to England by a Jew.

et paupertatis extremæ. Has hujus[1] miserias in Francia male miseratus, quidam Judæus Francigena crebris ei monitis persuasit, ut Angliam peteret, terram lacte et melle manantem; Anglos liberales prædicavit et dapsiles; ibi nullum, qui niteretur ad probitatem, pauperem moriturum. Puer promptulus, ut naturaliter Francorum est, ad velle quicquid volueris, assumpto secum comite quodam coætaneo suo et compatriota, ad peregrine proficiscendum præcinctus est; nihil in manibus habens præter baculum, nihil in sytarchia præter subulam.

The Jew's parting instructions to the boy.

Ov. Fast., i. 493.

Valedixit Judæo suo; cui Judæus, "Vade," ait, "viriliter. Deus patrum meorum deducat te sicut "desidero." Et, impositis manibus super caput ejus, ac si esset hircus emissarius, post stridores quosdam gutturis et tacitas imprecationes, jam de præda securus, adjecit, "Forti animo esto, obliviscere populum "tuum et terram tuam, quia omnis terra 'forti patria "'est, ut piscibus æquor, ut volucri vacuo quicquid "'in orbe patet.' Angliam ingressus si Londoniam "veneris, celeriter pertransibis; multum enim mihi "displicet illa polis. Omne hominum genus in illam "confluit ex omni natione, quæ sub cœlo est; omnis "gens sua vitia et suos mores urbi intulit. Nemo in "ea[2] sine crimine vivit; non omnis in ea vicus non "abundat tristibus obscenis; eo ibi quisquis melior "est, quo fuerit major in scelere. Non ignoro quem "instruo: habes supra tuam ætatem fervorem in"genii, frigiditatem memoriæ, ex utrinque contrariis, "temperantiam rationis. Nihil de te mihi metuo, nisi "cum male viventibus commoreris; ex convictu enim "mores formantur. Esto, esto. Londoniam venies. "Ecce! prædico tibi, quicquid in singulis, quicquid in "universis, partibus mundi mali vel malitiæ est, in "una illa civitate reperies. Lenonum choros non

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[1] *hujus*, P. C.

[2] The passage *sine—formantur. Esto*, has been cut from P.

Reasons why he should pass through London quickly.

Hor. Sat., i. 2. 1, 2.

“ adeas, ganearum gregibus non immiscearis; vita talum et tesseram, theatrum et tabernam. Plures ibi quam in tota Gallia thrasones offendes, gnathonum autem infinitus est numerus. Histriones, scurræ, glabriones, garamantes, palpones, pusiones, molles, masculariі, ambubajæ, pharmacopolæ, crissariæ, phitonissæ, vultuariæ, noctivagæ, magi, mimi, mendici, balatrones, hoc genus omne totas replevere domos.[1] Ergo, si nolueris habitare cum turpibus, non habitabis Londoniæ. Non loquor in literatos vel religiosos, sive Judæos; quamvis et ex ipsa cohabitatione malorum, minus eos ibi quam alibi crediderim esse perfectos.

The Jew briefly characterises the cities of England: Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Oxford, Exeter, Bath, Worcester, Chester, Hereford, York, Ely,

“Nec eo pergit oratio, ut in nullam te recipias civitatem, cum meo consilio nusquam tibi sit nisi in urbe manendum, refert tamen in qua. Si igitur circa Cantuariam appuleris, iter habebis perdere; si vel per eam transieris. Tota est in illa perditorum collectio ad suum nescio quem nuper deificatum, qui fuerat Cantuariorum archipresbyter, quod passim præ inopia panis et ocio per plateas moriuntur ad solem. Rofecestria[2] et Cicestria viculi sunt, et cur civitates dici debeant præter sedes flaminum nihil obtendunt. Oxonia vix suos homines,[3] non dico satiat, sed sustentat. Exonia eodem farre reficit homines et jumenta. Batonia, in imis vallium[4] in crasso nimis aere et vapore sulphureo posita, immo deposita, est ad portas inferi. Sed nec in arctois sedem tibi legeris urbibus, Wigornia, Cestria, Herefordia, propter Wallenses vitæ prodigos. Eboracus[5] Scottis abundat, fœdis et infidis homuncionibus.[6] Heliensis pagus perpetuo putidus est pro circumfusis paludibus. In Dunelmo, Norhvico,[7] sive Lincolnia, per-

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[1] The author's humour is at its best in these instructions. In 1232 there seems to have been another boy martyr at Winchester, *Annal. Winton.—Waverley*, Liebermann's Angl. Norm. Geschichtsquellen p. 191.

[2] *Rovecestria*, C.

[3] *clericos*, C.

[4] *Wallium* (sic), C.

[5] *Eboracus*, C.; *Eoboracus*, P.

[6] *hominibus vel homuncionibus*, C.

[7] *Norhwico*, C.

A.D. 1192.

Durham, Norwich, Lincoln, Bristol,

Cornwall,

Winchester.

The praises of Winchester.

" paucos de potentibus de tua conditione, nullum penitus audies Romane loquentem. Apud Bristollum nemo est qui non sit vel fuerit saponarius, et omnis Francus saponarios amat ut stercorarios. Post urbes, omne forum, villa, vel oppidum, incolas habet rudes et rusticos. Omni insuper tempore pro talibus Cornubienses habeto, quales in Francia nosti nostros Flandrenses haberi. Ceterum regio ipsa generaliter in rore cœli et in pinguedine terræ tota beatissima est; in singulis etiam locis[1] aliqui boni sunt, sed multo minus in omnibus quam in una, Wintonia.

"Hæc est in partibus illis Judæorum Hierosolyma, in hac sola perpetua pace fruuntur, hæc est schola bene vivere et valere volentium. Hic fiunt homines, hic satis est panis et vini pro nihilo. Sunt in ea tantæ monachi misericordiæ et mansuetudinis, clerus consilii et libertatis, cives civilitatis et fidei, feminæ pulchritudinis et pudicitiæ, quod parum me retinet quin ego vadam illuc cum talibus Christianis fieri Christianus. Ad istam te dirigo civitatem, urbem urbium, matrem omnium, et omnibus meliorem. Unum est vitium et illud solum, cui de consuetudine nimis indulget. Salva pace literatorum dixerim et Judæorum, Wentani mentiuntur ut vigiles, sed in fabulis faciendis.[2] Nusquam enim sub cœlo de tam facili tot rumores falsi fabricantur, ut ibi; alias, per omnia sunt veraces. Multa haberem adhuc et de meis negotiis tibi dicere, sed ne forte non capias, vel obliviscaris, literulas has familiaris mei Judæi manibus inseres, credo quia et ab illo aliquando remuneraberis." Scripta brevis erat Hebraica. Judæus peroraverat, et puer omnia interpretatus in bonum pervenit[3] Wintoniam.

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[1] From *aliqui* to *urbium, matrem* has been cut from P.

[2] The words *sed—faciendis* are in C. only. There is a blank space in P.

[3] The narrative here returns to the body of the page in P., having been in the margin from the point "at *o o*." The word "*Wintoniam*" thus follows, after an interval of 4 blank lines, the passage ending "*juvabit*" on p. 435.

A.D. 1192.

Story of the alleged martyrdom.

Subula sibi sicut et sodali suo satisfecit ad victum, et male parta per literas Judæi sæva suavitas et blæsa benignitas ad solatium. Ubicumque diebus pauperculi operarentur ab invicem, vel comederent, singulis noctibus in uno unius vetulæ veteri tugurio in uno lectulo quiescebant. Dies succedunt diebus et[1] ππ. menses mensibus; et hujus[2] pueri nostri, quem tam curiose hucusque diduximus, adesse per abesse festinant tempora. Crucis adoratæ dies advenerat, et puer ipso die apud Judæum suum operans, quocumque modo de medio factus, non comparuit. Erat quippe proximum Pascha, dies festus Judæorum. April 5. Socius illius vespere non revertentis ad cubiculum miratus absentiam, plurimis ipsa nocte terretur insomniis. Quæsitum diebus aliquot per omnes urbis angulos cum non invenisset, convenit Judæum simpliciter, si suum quoquam misisset nutritium; quem cum præter solitum de tam benigno pridie vehementer sensisset acerbum, verborum et vultus varietate notata, incanduit illico, et, ut erat vocis acutæ et mirabilis eloquentiæ, prorupit[3] in jurgia, magnis eum de sublatione socii sui clamoribus urgens.

The boy's companion charges his Jewish master with murder.

"Tu," inquit, "fili sordidæ meretricis, tu latro, tu traditor, tu diabole, tu crucifixisti socium meum. Hei mihi! modo quare non habeo vires hominis! Ego te manibus meis dilaniarem."[4] Audiuntur in platea clamores vociferantis in æde, concurrunt undique Judæi et Christiani. Puerulus instat, et jam pro turba constantior, interpellatis præsentibus, cœpit allegare pro socio. "O vos," ait, "viri qui convenistis, Threni, i. 12. 'videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus.' Iste Judæus diabolus est, iste cor meum de ventre meo rapuit, iste unicum sodalem meum jugulavit, præsumo etiam quod manducavit. Filius quidam dia-

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[1] *et*, om. C.

[2] *hujus*, P. C.

[3] *statim prorupit*, C.

[4] *dilaniarem* is not in P., but is supplied in C.

A.D. 1192.

"boli, Judæus Francigena, nec intelligo nec experior, "Judæus ille dedit sodali meo literas mortis suæ ad "hominem istum. Ad hanc urbem venit inductus, "immo seductus. Judæo huic sæpe servivit, et in "domo ejus novissime[1] visus est." Non defuit illi[2] testis ad aliqua, quoniam et femina Christiana, quæ, contra Canones, in eadem domo nutrierat Judæulos, constanter jurabat se vidisse puerum in penum[3] Judæi descendere sine regressu. Judæus inficiatur, res refertur ad judices. Deficiunt accusatores: puer quia infra ætatem erat, femina quia infamem eam fecerat Judæorum ministerium. Judæus obtulit purgationem conscientiæ propter infamiam. Judicibus aurea placuit. Dedit Phinees et placavit, et cessavit quassatio.

The testimony to the crime being defective, and the judges having been bribed, the affair is dropped.

The doings of Hugh Nunant in the monastery of Coventry.

Cestrensis episcopus, qui, ex odio religionis, de *at ππ.* Coventria monachos ejecerat, a[4] fundamentis evertit quidquid officinarum fuerat in cœnobio, ut ex alterata loci facie omnis apud posteros præteritorum memoria tolleretur. Sed et ne ruina maceriarum suum quandoque loqueretur auctorem, de præsto inventa et sine pretio parta materia in ecclesia loci, quæ perfecta non fuerat, cœpit ædificare. Latomis etiam et cementariis de monasterii suppellectili stipendia instituit. Duo præcipua monachorum maneria selegit in usus proprios, hoc ad abutendum eis ordine constituto, ut ubicumque comederet, speciale aliquid de prædictorum maneriorum pretio comparatum sibi præsentaretur ad esum, gloriaturo de victoria, ac si de monachorum, quos vitio vicerat, visceribus vesceretur. Reliquos vero eorum omnes redditus in præbendas partitus est, quarum quasdam Romanæ perpetuo adtitulatas ecclesiæ dedit appropriatas quibusdam cardinalibus Sedis Apostolicæ, designans eos, et eorum in eosdem titulos canonicos successores, ecclesiæ Coventrensis esse canonicos, ut si qua forte de transactis coram summo pontifice fieret retractatio, Curiam totam in suæ partis defensionem faceret proniorem; alias præbendas aliis contulit, sed nullam ulli, quem pro certo non noverat nullius religionis esse cultorem. Ædificaverunt[1] certatim etiam absentes canonici circa ecclesiam ampla et excelsa diversoria, ad usus forte proprios, si vel semel in vita locum visitandi causam casus offerret. Nullus ibi ex præbendariis, sicut nec alibi faciunt, religiose resedit, sed pauperibus vicariis ad insultandum Deo modica mercede conductis, pro foribus palatiorum facientes magalia,[2] sanctum eis chorum, "victosque Penates," et nudos ecclesiæ parietes crediderunt. Virg. Æn., viii. 11.

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[1] *novissimo*, P. C.

[2] *ei*, C.

[3] *penu*, P. C.

[4] *a*, P. C.

Bishop Hugh's preference for canons and dislike of monks.

Hæc est vere vera religio, hanc omnis imitari et æmulari deberet ecclesia. Canonico seculari ab ecclesia sua, quamdiu libuerit, licebit abesse, et patrimonium Christi ubi, et quando, et in quascumque voluerit voluptates absumere. Id tantum provideant, ut audiatur vociferatio frequens in domo Domini. Si ad fores talium pulsaverit advena, si pauper clamaverit, respondebit qui pro foribus habitat, et ipse satis pauper vicarius,—"Transite, et alibi alimoniam quærite, quia[3] dominus "domus domi non est." Hæc est illa gloriosa clericorum religio, cujus gratia Cestrensis episcopus monachos suos de Coventreia expulit, primus hominum tantum nefas ausus admittere. Causa clericorum irregulariter regularium, scilicet, canonicorum, ad placitum monachos eliminavit — monachos, qui non vicario, sed ore proprio laudabant Dominum, qui habitabant et ambulabant in domo Domini cum consensu omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, qui præter victum et vestitum nil terrenum noverant, quorum panis præsto fuit pauperi, quorum porta quolibet tempore viatori[4] patuit; nec tamen taliter placuerunt episcopo, qui nunquam dilexit

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[1] *ædificaverunt*, P. C.

[2] *magalia*, P. C.

[3] From *quia* to *monachos suos de* has been cut from P. by the binder.

[4] *præsto fuit semper pauperi, quorum porta cuilibet viatori quolibet tempore*, C.

A.D. 1192. monachos vel monachatum. Homo dicacitatis amaræ, qui, et si aliquando alicui parceret, nunquam monachos mordere quievit. "O offa solida et insorbilis[1] "monachus! multa millia maledicorum bolus iste strangulavit, fuitque male morientibus pro viatico." Si quotiens mordetur et roditur monachus absorberetur, ante plurima secula tota fuisset absorpta religio.[2] Omni loco et tempore, sive serio sive joco loqueretur episcopus, aliqua pars orationis ejus erat monachus. Nec eum monachorum suorum saturavit ejectio; sed semper sibi similis postea, sicut prius, monachum masticabat. Sed qui[3] de monachis non loqui non potuit, ne notam detractoris[4] incurreret, si in absentia monachorum carperet monachatum, instituit monachum aliquem in curia sua secum habere manentem, ut, præsente monacho et audiente, jucundior de monachis fieret fabulatio. Assumpsit itaque in quasi capellanum quendam monachum vix adultum, professum tamen apud Burtunam, quem et ad ludibrium religionis circumduxit multo tempore. Dolor nimius! Etiam in angelis Dei reperitur iniquitas. Monachus sciens et prudens, deductus ad delusionem, frontem suam fecerat frontem meretricis, ut monachos carpi monachus non erubesceret. Heu, quanta vagandi et equitandi libido. Audite me et exspectate paulisper; videbitis qualiter equitatoris hujus desierit equitatio. Die quadam apud Coventreiam episcopo super operarios suos stante, suus monachus sibi collateratus hærebat. In quem episcopus familiariter innixus, "Nonne," inquit, "mi monache, "tuo etiam judicio decet et expedit, ut tantæ tantus "decor ecclesiæ, tam decens ædificium, deorum sit "potius quam dæmoniorum?" Hæsitanti monacho in obscuritate verborum, adjecit, "Ego," ait, "clericos "meos deos nomino, monachos dæmonia.' Moxque

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[1] Both MSS. have *insorbibilis.*

[2] The passage from *multa millia* to this point is written on a page in P., of which the middle is otherwise blank, but the preceding narrative from the point "at π,π" has kept in the margin, and so continues for the rest of the paragraph.

[3] *qui,* not *quia,* MSS.

[4] *detractoris,* C.; *detrectoris,* P.

A.D. 1192.

manus dexteræ digito in astantes sibi clericos extento, infit, "Ego dico, dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes." Rursumque reversus in lævam, ad monachum intulit, "Vos autem, monachi, sicut dæmones moriemini, et "sicut unus et primus de principibus vestris in infernum cadetis, quia vivi diaboli estis. Certe, si me "contingeret pro mortuo monacho celebrare, quod "valde invitus facerem,[1] ego corpus ejus et animam "non Deo, sed diabolo, commendarem." Monachus, qui in loco monachis ablato monachorum contumeliam non refellit, quia in tali casu siluit, perpetuum sibi meruit imponi silentium. Repente enim lapis lapsus de fastigio ecclesiæ monachum episcopo adhærentem excerebravit, episcopo ad majus judicium incolume reservato.

Hardships suffered by the Crusaders.

Rex Anglorum Ricardus in conquirendo regionem circa Hierosolymam jam complevit biennium, ita quod de nulla terrarum suarum quicquam se juvaminis fuerat subsecutum;[2] nec ipse frater ejus unicus et uterinus Johannes comes Moretonii, nec justiciarii ejus, nec magnates reliqui quicquam visi sunt de transmittendis illi suis redditibus, sed neque de reditu illius, cogitare. Oratio tantum fiebat sine intermissione ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo. Minuebatur in dies in Terra Promissionis regis exercitus, et præter mulctatos gladio,[3] multa millia per menses singulos ex nocturni frigoris et diurni fervoris intemperantia nimis proxima moriebantur in populo. Ut videbatur, moriendum ibi fuit omnibus, eligeretur a quolibet utrum imbellis, an moreretur in bello. Ex adverso, gentilium robur vehementer invaluit, quibus ex casu Christianorum crevit audacia, quorum certis vicibus recenti milite reficiebatur exercitus, quibus erat aer natura, locus patria, labor sanitas, parcitas medicina. In nostris,[4] e diverso, fiebat adversum, quod adversariis ferebat emolumentum. Si quippe nostri

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[1] From *moxque manus* to this point has been cut from P.

[2] *obsecutum*, C.

[3] *mulctatos gladio* has been substituted in P. for *manum militum*.

[4] *nostris*, P.; *Neustriis*, C.

A.D. 1192. vel semel in septimana parcius viverent, septem septimanis postea minus validi redderentur. Epulabatur gens ex Francis et Anglis promiscua quantocumque constaret, pretium dum durabat, quotidie splendide, et, salva Francorum reverentia, usque ad nauseam; Anglorumque memorabili more servato perenniter, sub ipsis etiam lituis et clangore buccinæ[1] debita devotione inhiabat calicibus effæcandis. Mercatores provinciæ, qui castris invehebant victualia, mirabantur ex miraculi dissuetudine, et credere quod videbant verum esse vix poterant, dum populus unus, et is parvus numero, triplum panis absumeret et vini centuplum ad id unde sustentabantur plures gentilium populi, et quilibet innumerabilis. Et facta est merito super emeritos manus Domini. Tantam ingluviem tanta sequebatur inedia, ut vix dentes digitis parcerent, dum manus minus solito ad insumendum faucibus offerebant. His calamitatibus et aliis, quæ graves et multæ fuerant, multo gravior accessit regis adversitas.

Illness of king Richard.

Rex lecto nimis æger excipitur; typhus erat continuus; medici majorem hemitritæum mussitabant. Quibus et primo desperantibus, diffusa est de domo regis in castra dira desperatio. Rarus erat in multis millibus, qui non meditaretur diffugium, secutaque fuisset dispersionis aut deditionis suprema confusio,[2] nisi Hubertus Walteri episcopus Sarisburiæ concilium citius coegisset. Obtentum est allegationibus validis, ut non dilaberetur exercitus, donec a Salahadino postularentur induciæ. Omnes armati starent in acie solidius solito, et minaci vultu tegentes mentis ignaviam, prœliandi mentirentur affectum. Nemo de regis loqueretur incommodo, ne tanti doloris arcanum dilaberetur ad hostes; sciebatur enim certissime quod Salahadinus universi minus exercitus quam solius regis metuebat occursum; quem si decubuisse cognosceret, jam de stercore boum lapidaret Francigenas, et potatores lectissimos potione pavoris exebriaret Angligenas.

The panic resulting is quieted by the bishop of Salisbury.

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[1] *tubæ ve buccinæ*, C.

[2] A line erased here from P

A.D. 1192.

Richard's illness becomes known to Saphadin

Descendit interea ad videndum regem, ut de more[1] solebat, quidam Saffatinus gentilis, Salahadini frater, vir militiæ veteris, multum civilis et sapiens, quem regis magnanimitas et munificentia in sui amorem et suæ favorem partis illexerant. Ministris regis solito minus hilariter illi applaudentibus, et ad regis colloquium non admittentibus, "Ego," inquit, "per interpretem vos altum dolere sentio, nec causam nescio. Meus amicus, rex vester, infirmus est, et ideo mihi fores ejus clauditis." Et totis medullis resolutus in lacrimas, "Deus," inquit, "Christianorum, si[2] Deus es, talem virum tuis tam necessarium tam præpropere non patieris occumbere." In consensum receptus et ista locutus est. "In veritate prænuncio quod si, rebus ut nunc sunt se habentibus, vir iste decesserit, vos omnes Christiani peribitis, et tota hæc regio nostra erit in posterum sine litigio. Numquid metuemus illum validum regem Franciæ, qui priusquam veniret in aciem victus est? cujus quicquid virium tres anni contulerant trium mensium breve tempus absumpsit. Huc pro nihilo reverteretur ulterius, quoniam hoc pro vero semper habemus auspicio, ut quos in primo—non callide dico, sed naturaliter—sentimus ignavos, semper deinceps inveniamus deteriores. Sed rex iste inter omnes Christiani nominis principes, quos totius mundi teres circulus ambit, solus honore ducis et regis nomine dignus; quia bene incepit, in[3] melius profecit, et in optimo statu consummabitur, si modicum vobis duraverit.

Saphadin's speech in the Christian camp.

"Non est de novo quod timemus Angligenas, quoniam et patrem istius talem nobis fama fecerat,[4] ut si vel inermis nostras venisset in partes, omnes fugissemus armati, quibus nec ab eo fugari videretur inglorium. Ille timor noster, vir suo tempore singu-

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[1] The whole or parts of the words *more, magnanimitas, applaudentibus,* and *meus amicus* have been lost from P. by tearing.

[2] From *si Deus* to *ut nunc sunt* has been cut from P.

[3] *in,* P. C.

[5] *furerat* (sic), P.

A.D. 1192. "laris, occubuit; sed, more phœnicis, se millies meliorem reparavit in filio. Sed nec nos latuit, etiam genitore vivente, Ricardus iste quis fuerit; habuimus enim omnibus diebus patris ejus nostros inspectores in partibus illis, qui nobis et regis actus et filiorum suorum ortus et occasus nunciabant. Iste præ omnibus fratribus suis, merito probitatis,[1] a patre dilectus, et ante fratres priores natu populis regendis prælatus est. Nec nos latuit quod dux Aquitaniæ factus tyrannos provinciæ, avis et atavis suis indomabiles, quanta virtutis celeritate protriverit, quam metuendus et ipsi regi Franciæ et omnibus circa fines suos exstiterit terrarum rectoribus. Nullus de suo sibi [2], ille vero terminos suos semper dilatavit in proximos. Nec nos latuit quod duorum fratrum suorum, unum jam in regem coronatum, alterum jam Minoris Britanniæ comitem, quia se contra beatum patrem erexerant, non destitit jure Martis impetere; donec diuturnitate vexationis affectos æterna requie donavit utrumque. Omnes etiam, ut magis miremini, civitates partium vestrarum ex nomine novimus; sed et regem patrem[3] istius non ignoramus apud Cinomannos suorum proditione devictum, apud Chinonum mortuum, apud Fontem Ebrardi fuisse sepultum.

"Taceo, non ex ignorantia, quis se fecerit desideratissimæ nobis tantæ necis auctorem. O si Ricardus iste, quem quamvis diligam tamen timeo, si fuisset factus de medio, quam modicum jam metueremus, quam pro nihilo haberemus, illum novissimum filiorum, qui domi dormit in hordeo. Non est nobis incognitum[4] quod Ricardus, qui patri magno major successit in regnum, in ipso mox coronationis suæ anno adversus nos iter arripuit. Non erat nobis

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[1] *probatis*, C.

[2] Half a line blank in both MSS.

[3] *patriæ*, C.

[4] *ignotum*, C., with "vel *incognitum*" interlined above.

A.D. 1192.

" ignotus, et ante profectionem suam, numerus navium ejus et militum. Scivimus, et dum res agebatur, quanta celeritate munitissimam Siciliæ civitatem Messanam ceperit expugnatam; et quamvis nullus nostrum id crederet, tamen timor noster auctus est, 'et falsos veris addebat fama timores.' Lucan, i. 469.

Lucan, i. 144, 145. " Processit 'virtus nescia stare loco' per incircuitum[1] regionem, et ubique virtutum reliquit insignia. Dubius serebatur inter nos sermo de homine, utrum solam Deo suo Terram Promissionis, an simul sibi totum mundum subjugare pararet. De captione Cypri quis digna referet? Certe, si insula Cypri Ægypto penitus esset contermina, et frater meus Salahadinus subjugasset eam infra decennium, nomen ejus inter nomina numinum numeraretur in gentibus. Ex quo autem jam in primo[2] positum novimus quicquid sibi resistebat obruere, liquefacta sunt corda nostra, sicut album gelu liquescit ad appropinquantis solis aspectum. Dicebatur quippe de eo, quod et hostes suos vivos comederet. Quod vero mox ipsa adventus ejus die ad Accaronem non est apertis ultro januis receptus in civitatem, solus timor erat in causa. Non tuendæ civitatis amore, sed ex promissorum sibi tormentorum horrore et vitæ desperatione, pugnabant tanto virilius quanto vecordius, hoc plus morte metuentes, hoc modis omnibus molientes, ni morerentur[3] inulti. Et hoc non ex obstinatione, sed ex nostræ fidei religione fecerunt. Credimus[4] enim inultorum umbras semper errare, et omnis fore quietis expertes. Æque[5] tamen profuit infelicibus temeritas et timiditas. Victi viribus et ad deditionem timore coacti, leviore quam speraverant morte mulctati sunt; et adhuc, proh pudor gentibus! usque hodie umbræ eorum erroribus aguntur inultæ.

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[1] Thus MSS.

[2] *ultimo*, with "vel *primo*" in margin of C.

[3] *ne morerentur*, C.; *ni morirentur*, P.

[4] As far as *ad Anglos*, p. 449, the text, in P., covers the margins.

[5] *æque*, P. C.

A.D. 1192.

" Ego juro vobis per Deum maximum, quoniam si " postquam Accarone potitus est, continuo Hierosolymam duxisset exercitum, infra totos terræ Christianorum terminos nec unum reperisset ex nostris, immo " dedissemus ei gazas inæstimabiles, ut non progrederetur, ut nos non persequeretur ulterius.

"Sed, Deo gratia![1] oneratus fuit rege Francorum, " et per eum retardatus, sicut murilegus cui malleus " pendet ad caudam. Ceterum nos, etiam ejus æmuli, " nihil in Ricardo reperimus quod possimus[2] carpere, " nisi virtutem, nihil odire, nisi Martis peritiam. Sed " cum infirmo pugnare quæ gloria? Et si voluissem " hodie mane vos omnes et illum capitalem tulisse " sententiam,[3] nunc miserendum est vobis[4] propter " vestri regis incommodum; vel pacem perpetuam cum " fratre meo vobis adquiram, vel ad minus inducias " bonas et diuturnas. Quousque autem revertar ad " vos, nullus inde vestrum loquatur ad regem, ne si " motus fuerit ægrotet gravius, quoniam tam grandis " et grossi cordis est, ut, etsi modo mori debeat, non " consentiet in transactionem, nisi suam partem viderit " meliorem." Eloqui plura voluit, sed perorare non pertulit lingua languens et præ dolore deficiens, unde et in complosas manus capite reclinato, flevit uberius.

Saphadin offers to arrange a truce.

Episcopus Sarisburiensis et quæ aderat familiarior[5] regis familia, secum super his habita deliberatione secretius, velut in exosas et non desideratas inducias consenserunt, quas prius quocunque mercari pretio proposuerant. Dextris igitur datis et receptis, Saffatinus, lota facie et dissimulata mœstitia, ad Salahadinum reversus est Hierosolymam; ibique, coacto coram fratre concilio, vix post diem septimum decimum validis allegationibus valuit ad dandas Christianis inducias gentilium cervicositates inflectere. Præfigitur

The bishop of Salisbury and the king's private advisers accept the proffered truce.

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[1] *gratias*, C.

[2] *possimus*, P.C.

[3] In P. the author originally continued the sentence thus: *vel terram hanc reliquisse nobis in pace*, but he has struck these words out.

[4] *vobis*, P. C.

[5] *familior* (sic), C.

tempus et forma subscribitur. Si Ricardo regi placeat, infra trium annorum, trium mensium, trium hebdomadarum, trium dierum et trium horarum spatium,[1] tales inter Christianos et gentiles serventur induciæ, ut quicquid quocunque modo pars una vel altera possidet, inconcusse possideat usque ad terminum; Christianis liceret[2] ad placitum interim infortiare Accaronem tantummodo, et gentilibus Jerusalem. Omnis contractus, commercia, quilibet actus,[3] omnia omnibus invicem communicentur in pace. Saffatinus ipse, hujus decreti nuncius, destinatur ad Anglos.

Joy at the illness of the duke of Burgundy brings Richard favourably through his fever.

Dum Ricardus rex[4] ægrotabat apud Jafes, nunciatum est ei quod dux Burgundiæ apud Accaronem graviter ægrotaret. Dies ille fuerat regis creticus,[5] et ex delectatione rumorum febris ejus soluta est. Elevatis autem continuo rex manibus imprecatus est, dicens, "Deus destruat eum, quia noluit mecum inimicos fidei nostræ destruere, licet ad meos solidos jam pridem militaverit." Die tertia dux defungitur; cujus casu cognito, episcopus Belvacensis, relicto rege cum omnibus suis,[6] Accaronem festinus advenit; convenerunt ad eum ex omnibus oppidis omnes Francigenæ usque ad unum, comitem Campaniæ Henricum,[7] Ricardi regis ex sorore nepotem. Factus autem episcopus dux et minator eorum, edicto proposito, universos repatriare mandavit.

The duke dies (July, 1192).

The bishop of Beauvais sails for Europe and spreads calumnies as to Richard.

Virg. Æn. i. 67.

Classis instruitur et gloriosus princeps, cum suis glabrionibus ab oriente recedens, "Tyrrhenum navigat æquor." Appulsus in latus Alemanniæ per totas dietas sui itineris disseminabat in populos quod traditor ille rex Angliæ, primo adventus sui in Judæam tem-

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[1] William of Newburgh, i. 378, and the second continuator of Florence of Worcester, p. 159, also give these figures.

[2] *licere*, P. C.

[3] *actus*, torn from P.

[4] These three words are illegible in C.

[5] *creticus*, P. C., the mediæval form.

[6] *suis Francigenis*, P., but the latter word struck out.

[7] *H.*, C.

A.D. 1192. pore,[1] regem Francorum dominum suum Salahadino tradere disposuerat; quod, ut Tyro potiretur, marchisium jugulari fecerat; quod ducem Burgundiæ veneno perdiderat;[2] quod, ad ultimum, omnem Christianorum exercitum, qui sibi non parebat, in commune vendiderat; hominem esse singulariter ferum, moribus ferreum et inamabilem, in dolis doctum, et in dissimulatione doctissimum; horum gratia, regem Francorum tam celeriter repatriasse; horum gratia, Francos, qui resederant, inconquisitam Hierosolymam deseruisse. Rumor vires ex diffusione recepit, et in unum hominem omnium hominum suscitavit invidiam.

The king of France fears assassination by Richard's emissaries.

Reversus in Franciam dominus Belvacensis regis sui secreto susurravit in aurem, quod rex Angliæ, qui eum perderent, sicarios in Franciam destinaverat.[3] Rex ad ista turbatus, contra patriæ consuetudinem, custodes corporis sui lectissimos ordinavit; addidit etiam mittere ad imperatorem Alemanniæ nuncios cum muneribus, et imperatoriam majestatem in odium regis Angliæ sollicitus inclinavit. Ex imperiali igitur mandatur edicto, ut omnes civitates et omnes imperii principes regem Anglorum, si in partes suas de Judæa forte rediens devenisset,[4] armis exciperent, et sibi vivum vel mortuum præsentarent;[5] si quis ei parceret, ut publicus hostis imperii plecteretur. Paruerunt omnes imperatoris imperio; at mage[6] sedulus ille dux Austriæ, quem rex Angliæ apud Accaronem exauctoraverat.

The king's recovery and his efforts to organise an army to march to Jerusalem.

Henricus comes Campaniæ, solus jam ex magnatibus *at ππ.* Francorum in Judæa relictus, ad regem Anglorum reversus est Jafeth[7]; cui cum nunciasset et ducis Burgundiæ casum et fugam Francigenarum, spiritus[8] regis

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[1] *primo—tempore* in margin of P.

[2] *quod—perdiderat,* in margin of P. and C.

[3] This charge against the bishop is supported by William of Newburgh, i. 366.

[4] *Devenissent,* P.; altered by expunction in C.

[5] *præsentaret,* P. C.

[6] P. and C. have the form *mage.*

[7] *Japhet,* P.

[8] *spiritus,* P. C.

ita revixit, ut mox omnem cum sudore vitifero reciperet sospitatem. Viribus etiam corporis ex magnanimitate plus quam ex quiete vel cibo resumptis, mandavit per totam maritimam a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem, ut omnes qui poterant ad bella procedere ad regis expensas militare venirent. Convenit ad eum populus sine numero, ex quibus pars plurima pedites fuerunt; quibus, quia inutiles erant, repulsis, recensuit equites, et vix invenit milites quingentos, et scutariorum,[1] quorum domini perierant, duo millia. Nec tamen pro paucitate diffisus mentes metuentium rhetor optimus præmissa oratione refecit. Jubetur edici per cuneos ut in diem tertium acies ordinatæ sequantur regem, vel mori martyrio, vel viribus expugnare Jerusalem. Hæc erat ejus summa consilii, quia nihil adhuc de induciis noverat. Nemo enim, quod ex metu mortis ejus, ipso nesciente, præsumptum[2] fuerat, ex insperato valenti ausus erat insinuare. Hubertus vēro Walteri, episcopus Sarisburiæ, communicato cum Henrico comite de induciis consilio, facilem habuit in optata consensum. Pariter igitur deliberantes qua possent arte sine sui periculo periculosum prœlium præpedire, unam ex mille viderunt—si populus dissuaderetur ad pugnam. Et mira res accidit; ita cor pugnaturorum sine dissuasione defecit quod, die dicto cum rex suo more prævius præduxisset exercitum, non sunt inventi inter omnes milites et scutarios[3] nisi nongenti. Ob quam defectionem rex nimis irascens, immo vesaniens, et virgam pineam, quam manu gestabat, dentibus comminuens, indignantia tandem talibus ora resolvit. "Deus," inquit, "Deus, Deus,[4] quare me de-
" reliquisti! Cui nos stulti Christiani, cui nos Angli,
" ab ultra orbis partes huc venimus arma portare?

He was not aware of the truce.

His efforts to gather an army fail.

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[1] *scutarios*, MSS.

[2] Four words, *præsumptum*, *comite*, *prælium* and *dissuasione*, are either lost or mutilated by tearing of the margin of P.

[3] The text, previously in the margin of P., returns to the body of the page at this point.

[4] *Deus, Deus meus*, C.

A.D. 1192. "Nonne Deo Christianorum? Eia! quam bonus tuis "es, qui jam pro tuo nomine trademur in manus "gladii, partes vulpium erimus. O quam invitus ego "te desererem in tam gravi necessitatis articulo, si "tibi essem quod tu mihi es, Dominus et advocatus! "Certe, non mihi sed tibi deinceps mea signa jace-"bunt; certe, non propter ignaviam meæ militiæ tu "ipse, rex meus et Deus meus, hodie victus es, non "regulus tuus iste Ricardus."

He authorises the bishop of Salisbury and the count of Champagne to do that which, unknown to him, is already done.

Dixerat, et consternatus nimium castra repetiit; ad quem, ut jam competere videbatur, Hubertus episcopus et Henricus comes[1] familiarius accedentes, ac si nihil fuerit præfectum,[2] de transactione cum gentilibus necessario facienda regis animum per integumenta sollicitaverunt. Et rex ad illos, "Quia," inquit, "turbatæ mentis est præcipitare potius quam dictare "sententiam,—ego, qui turbatus sum animo, vobis, "quos quietæ mentis video, quod expedire videritis "pro bono pacis ordinare permitto." Qui votorum compotes destinandos ad Saffatinum super his nuncios delegerunt, cum subito Saffatinus reversus de Hierosolymis nunciatur adesse; cui comes et episcopus occurrentes, et de induciis jam ab eo certificati, eum qualiter cum domino suo rege loqueretur instituunt. Saffatinus in colloquium regis admissus, ut is cui fuerat ab antea familiaris, vix invaluit ut rex seipsum non perderet, ut in inducias consentiret. Tanta quippe viro fuit vis in corpore, virtus in animo, fides in Christo, quod difficile temperari potuit quin, ut erat milite destitutus, contra mille gentiles lectissimos singulare sui corporis certamen exciperet. Qua quia non est permissus excurrere, hoc elegit diffugium, ut, post septem septimanarum inducias, salvo fœdere pactionis, in suo penderet arbitrio utrum pugnare foret satius, an quiescere. Dantur a partibus dextræ de hac ultima transactione servanda fideliter; et Saffatinus, regio munere plus honoratus quam oneratus, ad fratrem regreditur, de prætractatis cum ratihabitione[1] ad terminum reversurus.

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[1] *H. comes Campaniæ*, C.

[2] *præfectum* (p'fectū) in P. and C. The word occurs in post-classical Latin in the sense of "done beforehand."

A.D. 1192.

Richard holds a council at Acre.

Ricardus rex Angliæ concilium habuit in Accarone, ibique regni illius reipublicæ prudenter providens, Henricum comitem[2] Campaniæ, nepotem suum, cui prius Tyrum dederat, totius Terræ Promissionis ducem et dominum ordinavit. Regiam tantum consecrationem in forte futuram Hierosolymæ consecutionem[3] censuit differendam.

He decides to dismantle Ascalon.

Rex Ricardus repatriare deliberans, cum per ministerium ducis Henrici per universas suarum partium partas munitiones viros defensabiles disposuisset, solam Ascalonem, pro gentis penuria, perpendit custode carituram et habitatore. Unde et præcavens, ne refieret gentilium receptaculum, dejici fecit castri munitiones et propugnacula.

Septimæ septimanæ septimus dies advenerat, et ecce, Saffatino cum plurimis admiralibus, qui faciem viri videre gestierant, ad regem veniente, juramentis partium confirmantur induciæ; hoc ad prætaxationem addito, ut infra induciarum spatium Christianus vel Gentilis Ascalonem nullus inhabitaret, tota tamen agricultura ad urbem pertinens fidelibus remaneret.

The bishop of Salisbury and Henry of Champagne go to Jerusalem; but king

Hubertus episcopus Sarisburiæ et H[enricus] dux Judææ cum manu multa ascenderunt in Jerusalem, adorare in loco ubi steterant pedes Christi. Et erat ibi videre miseriam.[4] Captivi confessores nominis Christiani durum et diuturnum trahebant martyrium; per cuneos concatenati, pedes exulcerati, humeros excoriati,

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[1] *rathabitione*, P. C.

[2] *comite*, P.

[3] *consecrationem* [?], C.

[4] *miseriam*, P. C.

A.D. 1192.

Richard refuses to go.

clunes stimulati, terga cæsi, ad inexpugnabilem faciendam contra Christianos Jerusalem, ad manus latomorum et cementariorum materiem comportabant.

Reversi a locis sanctis dux et episcopus suaserunt regi, ut et ipse ascenderet, sed adquiescere non potuit digna magni cordis indignatio,[1] ut quod de Dei dono non poterat, de gratia Gentilium consequeretur.[2]

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[1] Other authors say that he was dissuaded.

[2] C. adds:

Laus tibi sit Christe, quoniam
liber explicit iste. Amen.

GLOSSARY.

Appruntare, to borrow, 430.

Baco, a ham, 426.
Bucea, a buss, a large ship, 394.

Confraganeus, an associate bishop, 57.
Convicaneus, living in the same village or parish, 120.
Cupedinarius, greedy of money, 98.

Defensabilis, armed, 422, 453.
Descriptio, a tax or contribution, 97.
Dieta, a day's journey, 449.
Diversiclinium, the meeting-point of roads, 78.

Eludium, a jocular saying, 388.
Episcopium, the office or dignity of a bishop, 102.

Fundosus, shallow, 62.

Hidata, a hide of land: fixed in Henry II.'s reign at 100 acres, 430.

Impudicator, a corrupter, 98.
Indemnis, innocent, 121.

Leviannigena, smooth-faced, 428.

Mansa, a manor, 430.
Millerium, for *millarium*, the sum of one thousand, 387.
Murilegus, a cat, 448.

Obstinax, obstinate, 53, 114.

Reclamatio, the right of reclaim, 387.

Silina, perhaps for *salma*, as in Benedict, ii. p. 133, a seam or quarter of grain, 396.
Subnitor, to trust to, or rely on, 125.

Talponarii, men who undermine the walls of fortresses, 427.
Tegnio, a thane, 158.
Terrinus, a Sicilian gold coin (*tarenus*), weighing 20 grains, 396.

Uxorare, to marry, 121.

Villanagium, land held by villein tenure, 430.

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This is a work of great value for elucidating the early history of our nobility and landed gentry.

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Vol. I.—1547-1580.
Vol. II.—1581-1590.
Vol. III.—1591-1594.
Vol. IV.—1595-1597.
Vol. V.—1598-1601.
Vol. VI.—1601-1603, with Addenda, 1547-1565.
Vol. VII.—Addenda, 1566-1579.
Vol. VIII.—1603-1610.
Vol. IX.—1611-1618.
Vol. X.—1619-1623.
Vol. XI.—1623-1625, with Addenda, 1603-1625.
Vol. XII.—Addenda, 1580-1625.

These Calendars render accessible to investigation a large and important mass of historical materials. The Northern Rebellion of 1566-67; the plots of the Catholic fugitives in the Low Countries; numerous designs against Queen Elizabeth and in favour of a Catholic succession; the Gunpowder-plot; the rise and fall of Somerset; the Overbury murder; the disgrace of Sir Edward

Coke; the rise of the Duke of Buckingham, &c., and numerous other subjects, few of which have been previously known.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., (Vols. I.-XII.); *by* John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., and William Douglas Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A., (Vol. XIII.); and *by* William Douglas Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A., (Vols. XIV.-XVII., 1858-1882.

Vol. I.—1625-1626.
Vol. II.—1627-1628.
Vol. III.—1628-1629.
Vol. IV.—1629-1631.
Vol. V.—1631-1633.
Vol. VI.—1633-1634.
Vol. VII.—1634-1635.
Vol. VIII.—1635.
Vol. IX.—1635-1636.
Vol. X.—1636-1637.
Vol. XI.—1637.
Vol. XII.—1637-1638.
Vol. XIII.—1638-1639.
Vol. XIV.—1639.
Vol. XV.—1639-1640.
Vol. XVI.—1640.
Vol. XVII.—1640-41.

This Calendar presents notices of a large number of original documents of great value to all inquirers relative to the history of the period to which it refers many hitherto unknown.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, during the Commonwealth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Mary Anne Everett Green. 1875-1885.

Vol. I.—1649-1649.
Vol. II.—1650.
Vol. III.—1651.
Vol. IV.—1651-1652.
Vol. V.—1652-1653.
Vol. VI.—1653-1654.
Vol. VII.—1654.
Vol. VIII.—1655.
Vol. IX.—1655-1656.
Vol. X.—1656-1657.
Vol. XI.—1657-1658.
Vol. XII.—1658-1659.

This Calendar is in continuation of those during the reigns from Edward VI. to Charles I., and contains a mass of new information.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Mary Anne Everett Green. 1860-1866.

Vol. I.—1660-1661.
Vol. II.—1661-1662.
Vol. III.—1663-1664.
Vol. IV.—1664-1665.
Vol. V.—1665-1666.
Vol. VI.—1666-1667.
Vol. VII.—1667.

Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Joseph Redington, Esq. 1878-1879. Vol. III. *Edited by* Richard Arthur Roberts, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1881.

Vol. I.—1760 (25 Oct.)-1765.
Vol. II.—1766-1769.
Vol. III.—1770-1772.

These are the first three volumes of the modern series of Domestic Papers, commencing with the accession of George III.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Markham John Thorpe, Esq., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 1858.

Vol. I., the Scottish Series, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-1589.

Vol. II., the Scottish Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1589-1603; an Appendix to the Scottish Series, 1543-1592; and the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

These volumes relate to Scotland, between 1509 and 1603. In the second volume are Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her Detention in England, 1568-1587.

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* Henry Savage Sweetman, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland); *continued by* Gustavus Frederick Handcock, Esq. 1875-1886.

Vol. I.—1171-1251.
Vol. II.—1252-1284.
Vol. III.—1285-1292.
Vol. IV.—1293-1301.
Vol. V.—1302-1307.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Hans Claude Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A. 1860-1885.

Vol. I.—1509-1573.
Vol. II.—1574-1585.
Vol. III.—1586-1588.
Vol. IV.—1588-1592.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., and John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1872-1880.

Vol. I.—1603-1606.
Vol. II.—1606-1608.
Vol. III.—1608-1610.
Vol. IV.—1611-1614.
Vol. V.—1615-1625.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office, London.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq. 1860-1884.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574-1660.
Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.
Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617-1621.
Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622-1624.
Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661-1668.
Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625-1629.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London (Vols. I.-IV.); and *by* James Gairdner, Esq., (Vols. V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX.) 1862-1886.

Vol. I.—1509-1514.
Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515-1518.
Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519-1523.
Vol. IV.—Introduction.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524-1526.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526-1528.
Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529-1530.
Vol. V.—1531-1532.
Vol. VI.—1533.
Vol. VII.—1534.
Vol. VIII.—1535, to July.
Vol. IX.—1535, Aug. to Dec.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547-1553. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Mary, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest. The Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merit a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. These volumes treat only of the relations of England with foreign powers.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.–VII.), and Allan James Crosby, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII.–XI.) 1863–1880.

Vol. I.—1558–1559.
Vol. II.—1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.—1561–1562.
Vol. V.—1562.
Vol. VI.—1563.
Vol. VII.—1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.
Vol. IX.—1569–1571.
Vol. X.—1572–1574.
Vol. XI.—1575–1577.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Elizabeth. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

Calendar of Treasury Papers, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Joseph Redington, Esq. 1868–1883.

Vol. I.—1557–1696.
Vol. II.—1697–1702.
Vol. III.—1702–1707.
Vol. IV.—1708–1714.
Vol. V.—1714–1719.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

Calendar of the Carew Papers, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and William Bullen, Esq. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, in the Lambeth Library, are unique and of great importance to all students of Irish history.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. Bergenroth 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katherine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* Don Pascual de Gayangos. 1873–1886.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529–1530.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued.*—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.
Vol. V., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1534–1536.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* Rawdon Brown, Esq. 1864–1884.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.—1555–1556.
Vol. VI., Part II.—1556–1557.
Vol. VI., Part III.—1557–1558.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history ; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

Syllabus, in English, of Rymer's Fœdera. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.-Edw. III., 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.-Chas. II. 1377–1654. Vol. III., Appendix and Index. 1869–1885.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and the Rev. J. S. Brewer to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

In the Press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVIII.—1641–1643.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. Vol. VII.—1559, &c.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V., Part 2.—1537, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XIII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. V.—1592–1594.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN of HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. X.—1536.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and con-" venient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, " would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to " the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House " therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased " to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for " the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, " and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this " purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

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1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

   The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

   This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

   This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was borne in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* Charles A. Cole, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus,* compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV$^{\text{mo}}$ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III. fols. 306–331 : an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground : a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand : and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI. : a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum : with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. CHRONICON ABBATIÆ EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIÆ ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I.; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-

at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1886.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of Cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckham was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; " but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia. 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in Decembar 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV. 1431–1443. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law. 1884.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation

of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from traditition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not an eye-witness, must have derived his information from eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Beckynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a *desideratum* by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311–1316. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1873–1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited, from various MSS., by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, one of the most celebrated Primates of Canterbury. They open various points of Historical and Literary interest, without which our knowledge of the period would be more incomplete than it is at present.

64. CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III. which has hitherto been considered lost.

65. THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM. *Edited by* the REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggleshall, the "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, Esq., LL.D. 1885.

This publication comprises all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. RADULFI DE DICETO DECANI LUNDONIENSIS OPERA HISTORICA. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF MASTER RALPH DE DICETO, DEAN OF LONDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the Original Manuscripts, by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto are some of the most valuable materials for British History. The Abbreviationes Chronicorum extend from the Creation to 1147, and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

69. ROLL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE KING'S COUNCIL IN IRELAND, FOR A PORTION OF THE 16TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES GRAVES, A.B. 1877.

This Roll throws considerable light on the History of Ireland at a period little known. It seems the only document of the kind extant.

70. HENRICI DE BRACTON DE LEGIBUS ET CONSUETUDINIBUS ANGLIÆ LIBRI QUINQUE IN VARIOS TRACTATUS DISTINCTI. AD DIVERSORUM ET VETUSTISSIMORUM CODICUM COLLATIONEM TYPIS VULGATI. Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1878–1883.

This is a new edition of Bracton's celebrated work, collated with MSS. in the British Museum; the Libraries of Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn; Bodelian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; &c.

71. THE HISTORIANS OF THE CHURCH OF YORK, AND ITS ARCHBISHOPS. Vol. I. *Edited by* JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879.

This will form a complete "Corpus Historicum Eboracense," a work very much needed, and of great value to the Historical Inquirer.

72. REGISTRUM MALMESBURIENSE. THE REGISTER OF MALMESBURY ABBEY; PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield; and CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, Esq., B.A. 1879, 1880.

This work illustrates many curious points of history, the growth of society, the distribution of land, the relations of landlord and tenant, national customs, &c.

73. HISTORICAL WORKS OF GERVASE OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I. and II. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II., and RICHARD I., BY GERVASE, THE MONK OF CANTERBURY. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D.; Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; &c. 1879, 1880.

The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.," more than two centuries ago. The present edition has received critical examination and illustration.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, ESQ., M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1879.

Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "Scriptores post Bedam," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," which is out of print The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.

75. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF SYMEON OF DURHAM. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, ESQ., M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1882–1885.

The first volume of this edition of the Historical Works of Symeon of Durham, contains the "Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ," and other Works. The second volume contains the "Historia Regum," &c.

76. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1882, 1883.

The first volume of these Chronicles contains the "Annales Londonienses" and the "Annales Paulini:" the second, I.—Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu Magni Regis Edwardi. II.—Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi. III.—Monachi Cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita, Edwardi II. IV.—Vita et Mors Edwardi II. Conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.

77. REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM FRATRIS JOHANNIS PECKHAM, ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., 1882–1886.

These Letters are of great value for illustrating English Ecclesiastical History

78. REGISTER OF S. OSMUND. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. Vols. I. and II. 1883, 1884.

This Register, of which a complete copy is here printed for the first time, is among the most ancient, and certainly the most treasured, of the muniments of the Bishops of Salisbury. It derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury. The first 19 folios contain the "Consuetudinary," the exposition, as regards ritual, of the "Use of Sarum."

79. CHARTULARY OF THE ANCIENT BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF RAMSEY, from the MS. in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. 1884, 1886. *Edited by* WILLIAM HENRY HART, Esq., F.S.A., and the Rev. PONSONBY ANNESLEY LYONS.

This Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Monastery of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, came to the Crown on the Dissolution of Monasteries, was afterwards preserved in the Stone Tower, Westminster Hall, and thence transferred to the Public Record Office.

80. CHARTULARIES OF ST. MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN, &c., preserved in the Bodleian Library and British Museum. *Edited by* JOHN THOMAS GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. Vols. I. & II. 1884 and 1885.

These Chartularies, published for the first time, are the only documents of that description known to exist of the ancient establishments of the Cistercian Order in Ireland; two being of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and one of the House at Dunbrody, Wexford. One Chartulary is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, together with that of Dunbrody; the second is in the British Museum.

81. EADMERI HISTORIA NOVORUM IN ANGLIA, ET OPUSCULA DUO DE VITA SANCTI ANSELMI ET QUIBUSDAM MIRACULIS EJUS. 1884. *Edited by* the Rev. MARTIN RULE, M.A.

This volume contains the "Historiæ Novorum in Anglia," of Eadmer; his treatise "De Vita et conversatione Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis," and a Tract entitled "Quaedam Parva Descriptio Miraculorum gloriosi Patris "Anselmi Cantuariensis."

82. Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I. Vols. I. & II. 1884, 1885. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law.

The History of English Affairs, from the Conquest to A.D. 1198, by William of Newbury, is the work of a man of great mental power. It has taken a high place among mediæval histories.

83. Chronicle of the Ancient Abbey of Ramsey, from the Chartulary of that Abbey, in the Public Record Office. 1886. *Edited by* the Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington, Oxon.

This Chronicle forms part of the Chartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey, preserved in the Public Record Office (*see* No. 79).

84. Chronica Rogeri de Wendover, sive Flores Historiarum. Vol. I. *Edited by* Henry Guy Hewlett, Esq., Keeper of the Records of the Land Reveuue.

The only previous edition of this important Chronicle was that printed for the "English Historical Society" in 1841, edited by the late Reverend H. O. Coxe. This was taken from the only complete MS., written in the 13th century, and forming part of the Douce Collection in the Bodleian Library.

In the Press.

Chronicle of Robert of Brunne. *Edited by* Frederick James Furnivall, Esq., M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law.

The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester. *Edited by* William Aldis Wright, Esq., M.A. Parts I. and II.

A Collection of Sagas and other Historical Documents relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. *Edited by* Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., Oxon., and M. Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A. Vols. I.—IV.

Lestorie des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar. *Edited by* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records; *continued by* Charles Trice Martin, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.

The Historians of the Church of York, and its Archbishops. Vol. II. *Edited by* James Raine, D.C.L., Canon of York, Secretary of the Surtees Society.

The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other documents relating to that Saint. *Edited by* Whitley Stokes, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France.

Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey, from the MS. in the Public Record Office. Vol. III. *Edited by* William Henry Hart, Esq., F.S.A., and the Rev. Ponsonby Annesley Lyons.

Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I. Vol. III. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

Willelmi Monachi Malmesbiriensis de Regum Gestis Anglorum, libri V.; et Historiæ Novellæ, libri III. *Edited by* William Stubbs, D.D., Bishop of Chester. Vols. I. and II.

Charters and Documents, illustrating the History of the Cathedral and City of Sarum, 1100–1300; forming an Appendix to the Register of S. Osmund. Vol. III. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. Rich Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain now called England, by John de Waurin. 1399–1422. (Translation of Vol. II). *Edited and translated by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, Esq., F.S.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.

Flores Historiarum, per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge.

The Registers of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. *Edited by* Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard, Esq., LL.D.

In Progress.

Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. IV.; 1327, &c. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

The Treatise "De Principum Instructione," of Giraldus Cambrensis; with an Index to the first four volumes of the "Works of Giraldus Cambrensis," edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer. *Edited by* George F. Warner, Esq., of the Department of MSS., British Museum.

Ranulf de Glanvill; Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ, &c. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L.

Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. V. 1443–1461. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, Esq., F.S.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.

Chronicle of Adam Murimuth, with the Chronicle of Robert of Avesbury. *Edited by* Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., Keeper and Egerton Librarian of the Manuscript Department in the British Museum.

The Red Book of the Exchequer, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* Walford Daking Selby, Esq., of the Public Record Office.

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